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WATCHING-CHAMBER OF ST. FRIDESWIDE'S SHRINE,
FROM THE LATIN CHAPEL.



OXFORD CATHEDRAL.



DOOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

HANDBOOK
TO THE
CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.

—◆—
Eastern Division.

OXFORD.—PETERBOROUGH.—NORWICH.—
ELY.—LINCOLN.

—
With Illustrations.
—

NEW EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE present division of the "Handbook to the Cathedrals of England" embraces those of Oxford, Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, and Lincoln; the five Cathedrals which may be broadly classed as the "Eastern Division," since Oxford and Peterborough were originally included within the great diocese of Lincoln.

The descriptions have been drawn up after careful personal survey, and with the assistance of the best and most recent works on each Cathedral. No one has done more toward ascertaining the true history of our Cathedrals than Professor Willis, who combines in a remarkable degree a knowledge of the theory and practice of architecture with the learning necessary to unravel and understand the documents bearing on the history of the buildings themselves. His published works and the most trustworthy reports of his lectures have been

b

freely used. Acknowledgments of much valuable assistance is also due (amongst others) to Mr. J. H. Parker and to the Rev. G. A. Poole. A description of the painted ceiling at Ely was kindly furnished by Mr. Le Strange, whose death has occurred since the volume was in type, —a loss, at Ely and elsewhere, which will not readily be supplied.

In describing each Cathedral the same plan has been followed for the present volumes as for those of the Southern Division. Reference to each portion of the description will be made easy by a very full Index, which will be given at the conclusion of the entire series.

RICHARD JOHN KING.

The much-lamented death of Mr. R. J. King has rendered it necessary that the task of revising the "Handbook to the Eastern Cathedrals" should be entrusted to another Editor, who has spared no pains to make the Work both accurate and complete. Each of the five Cathedrals has been re-visited with an express view to this Edition. The descriptions have been compared

with the actual buildings, and every detail has been carefully verified. Necessary corrections have been made, omissions supplied, and the whole has been, as far as possible, brought down to the date of publication. Works of repair and adornment, more or less extensive, have taken place in all the Cathedrals comprised in this volume; but none of them, with the exception of Oxford, has undergone such a complete restoration as to require any considerable alteration in the text of the original Edition. At Oxford, however, the restoration and re-arrangement has been so thorough, embracing every part of the Church in a greater or less degree, and involving the addition of so many new features, that it has been found necessary entirely to re-cast the architectural description, and to re-write a considerable part of it. The late Sir Gilbert Scott's valuable Report, so far as it bears on the history and characteristic features of the fabric, by the kind permission of the Dean of Christ Church, has been printed as an Appendix. In the other Cathedrals notices of alterations of arrangement and works of restoration have been inserted in their proper places in the text. The most important of these are

the works carried out at Ely in the completion of the stonework of the octagon, which has been brought to a happy conclusion as a memorial to the late Dean Peacock; and the decoration of the interior of the lantern, and of the eastern portion of the nave roof, by Mr. Gambier Parry. That gentleman has kindly furnished a description of the pictorial and decorative work carried out by him in pursuance of the plan commenced by the late Mr. Styleman Le Strange. It now only remains for the authorities of that Cathedral to undertake the rebuilding of the North-Western Transept, and Ely Cathedral, for the grandeur and beauty of its architecture, the variety of its styles and perfection of its details, as well as for the unstinted munificence and admirable taste with which its restoration has been carried out, may not unjustly claim one of the very first places among the Minsters of our land.

The second Part of each of the separate Cathedral Handbooks, containing a short History of the See with Biographical Notices of the principal Bishops who have filled it, has also undergone careful revision. The early annals of some of the foundations, especially Peterborough and Oxford, have been corrected and expanded;

west window of this aisle represents Faith, Hope, and Charity, by Morris, from a design by Burne Jones. On the walls of this aisle are monuments to Dr. EDWARD Pocock, Professor of Arabic and Hebrew, with a bust (died 1648), and Dr. GODFREY FAUSSET, Lady Margaret Professor (died 1853).

VIII. The very fine and lofty arches of the *central tower* are circular towards the nave and choir, but pointed towards the transepts. They are all four, however, of the same transitional character; and no doubt formed part of the works executed during the priorates of Canutus and Philip. The mouldings of the circular arches resemble those of the upper arches of the choir; the transept arches spring from piers composed of three nook-shafts and have a broader and plainer soffite than those leading to the nave and choir. The cutting off of the lower portions of the vaulting-shafts from the faces of the lantern-piers indicates that, as was usual in Norman minsters, the ritual choir was placed under the tower and extended into the nave. The lantern was till recently shut in, just above these arches, by a flat panelled ceiling of timber, probably inserted when the bells were brought here from Oseney. It has now been opened to the base of the belfry-stage. The lower stage is surrounded with an arcade of very small arches resting on massy shafts, the capitals of which spread in an unusual manner, and are much enriched. Above is another arcade of taller arches, in the angles of which are round-headed windows,

him with their counsel and co-operation, and, in some instances, looked over the proof-sheets. Of these he has pleasure in specifying—at Norwich, Dean Goulburn, and Mr. Spaul the able and intelligent Clerk of the Works at that Cathedral; at Ely, Dean Merivale, Canon Luckcock, and Precentor Dickson; at Peterborough, Dr. Westcott; and at Oxford, the Dean of Christ Church and Dr. Bright. For the corrections and additions in his own cathedral of Lincoln, he alone is responsible.

EDMUND VENABLES.

The Precentory, Lincoln,
Oct. 29, 1880.

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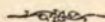
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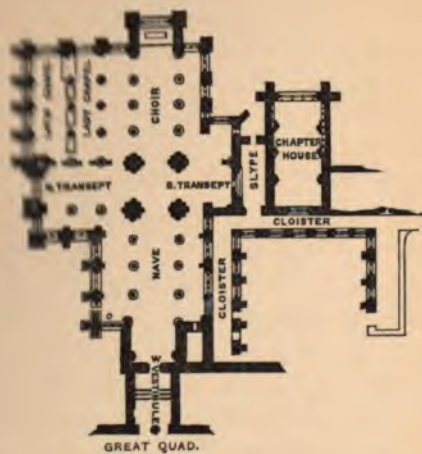
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OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

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- A Entrance to Chapter-house.
 a Watching Chamber of St. Frideweide.
 b Tomb of Lady Montacute.
 c Tomb of Prior Sutton (?).
 d Tomb of Sir George Nowers (?).
 e Tomb of Zouch.
 l Tomb of Bishop King.
 m Entrance to Transept.
 n Entrance to Nave.
 o Dean's Entrance.

GROUND-PLAN, OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

cloister walk. The *north transept*, which we now enter, retains both its aisles. The aisle windows have been restored to their original design. Each bay of the aisle to the east has been broken through to form later chapels of larger size. In the transepts the clerestory windows are round-headed.

The transept itself consists of three bays. The vaulting of the west aisle is carried from half-capitals, as in the nave and choir aisles. Both transepts have flat timber roofs; but it was apparently the intention that both should have enriched stone vaults like that of the choir. The two northern bays of the clerestory in the north transept shew the commencement of the work, and have been converted from Norman to late Perpendicular, very much in the same manner as the clerestory of the choir. The windows, however, are unlike those of the choir in being arched, not square-headed. Beneath the windows is a horizontal moulding enriched with flowers, the soffites are panelled, and a wall-rib indicates the proposed form of the vault. The remarkable and not very pleasing stone screens between the pillars of the eastern aisle, with circular openings formed by the original Norman arch and by the top of the screen below, through which the eastern chapels were entered, have been removed, and the eye misses a unique and curious feature.

Against the north wall of this transept is the tomb of JAMES ZOUCH (died 1503), a monk of the priory, whose profession of a scribe is indicated by the pen-case and inkhorn on the panels. [Plate V.] He left

request of the latter, Feb. 12, 1180, the relics of St. Frideswide were 'lifted up' from her grave below the tower of the new church, and translated to a shrine above ground by the hands of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and other prelates, a papal legate, and a large assemblage of clerks and laymen. The new building must at that time have been nearly if not quite completed*. The choir, like the nave, has north and south aisles of the same period. A Lady-chapel, adjoining the north aisle of the choir, was added towards the middle of the thirteenth century; and in the first half of the fourteenth the further addition of the so-called 'Latin chapel' was made. The roofs of the nave and choir have been commonly ascribed to Cardinal Wolsey, but are probably of an earlier date.

The cathedral thus contains examples of the various styles from late Norman to Perpendicular. Of these the original Norman work is the most valuable and interesting. But it may safely be said that a careful examination of the entire building—which is the smallest of English cathedrals—will repay the visitor, and will disclose many more points of interest than he may at first be prepared to expect.

III. The only good external view of the cathedral is

* The translation is recorded in a MS., *de Miraculis S. Frideswide*, in the Bodleian. According to this narrative, a light issuing from the relics of the Saint was seen shining above the tower of her church, eight years before the translation,—a proof that the tower was completed in 1172.

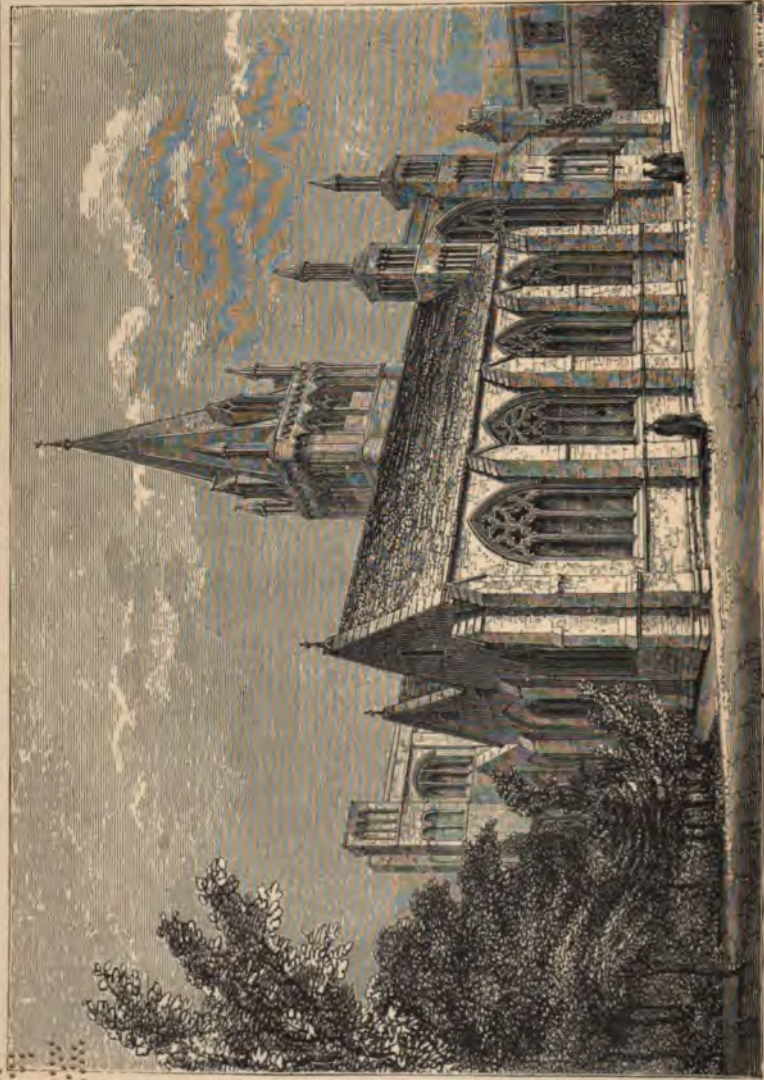
arches; in the choir-aisles it is pure Norman, and the arches are circular. This is of course another indication (see § ix.) that the choir was the portion of the church which was first completed; and that the nave-aisles were the last. In the north choir-aisle is a monument, with a bust, for Dean GOODWIN (died 1620).

XII. Adjoining the choir-aisle, and entered from the central eastern bay of the transept, is the *Lady-chapel*, of Early English architecture, and added towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the city wall closely adjoined the east end of the cathedral, it was impossible to add the Lady-chapel in that, the most usual, direction. The north wall of the choir-aisle was therefore broken through, and Early English piers and arches constructed in each bay, the Transitional vaulting-shafts of the aisle remaining undisturbed. The western arch is circular, and was that of the eastern transept-aisle. The second bay from the east is supposed to have been the place of St. Frideswide's shrine. The vaulting shews considerable traces of decorative painting.

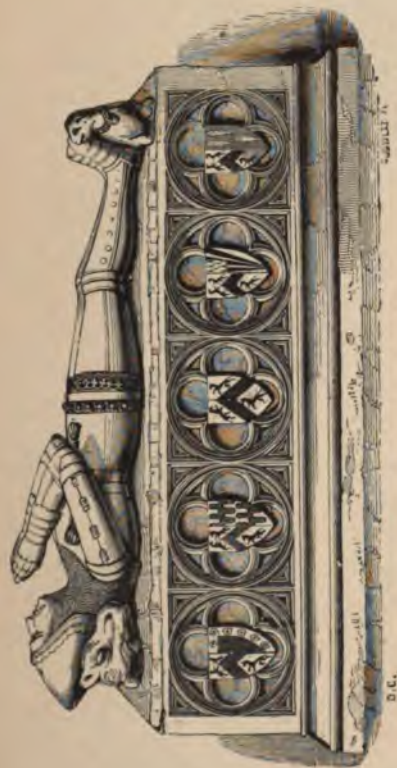
The east window of four lights, of restored flamboyant tracery, is filled with stained glass by BURNE JONES, in memory of FREDERICK G. VYNER, who was murdered by brigands in Greece, April 21, 1870, erected "by his sorrowing contemporaries at Christ Church." The figures represented are Samuel, David, St. John and Timothy, clad in white robes, as portraying youthful courage and purity. The drawing is very beautiful, especially in the figure of David. The

CXFORD CATHEDRAL.

PLATE I.



GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTHEAST, FROM ONE OF THE CANONS' GARDENS

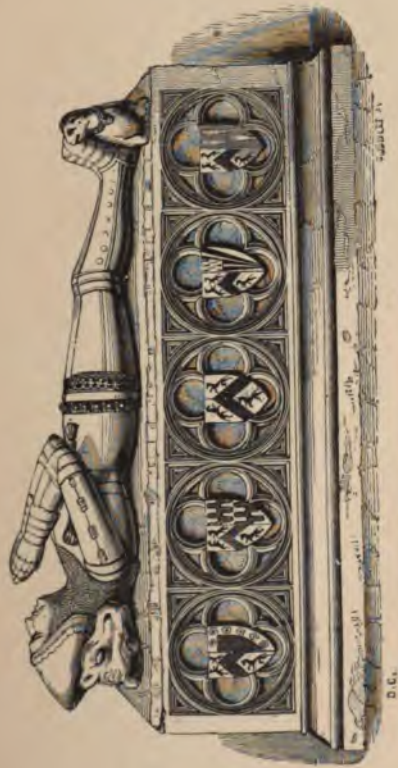


OXFORD CATHEDRAL.
PLATE VI.
TOMB OF SIR GEORGE NOWERS.

TOMB OF SIR GEORGE NOWERS

red nimbi are of doubtful taste. The tracery is occupied with foliage of a dull green.

The *monuments* which remain in the Lady-chapel are, perhaps, more interesting than the architecture of the chapel itself. They are arranged under the arches on the north side. The *first*, westward, commonly called that of Sir Henry de Bathe, is more probably the tomb of Sir GEORGE NOWERS (de Nodariis) (died 1425). [Plate VI.] His very fine effigy affords a good example of armour, which is, however, earlier in character than 1425. (It may be compared with that of the Black Prince at Canterbury.) If the effigy be really that of Sir George Nowers, it may have been prepared during his lifetime. It is, however, too small for the tomb on which it lies. The panels below are filled in with shields of arms. The *second* monument, under a very rich early Decorated canopy, is said to be that of Prior GUIMOND (died 1141), but cannot possibly be of his time. [Plate VII.] Both tomb and effigy are of the reign of Edward I. (*circ.* 1300); and although the Norman prior under whom the religious foundation of St. Frideswide was re-established (see Part II.) may have been thus honoured long after his death, it is more probable that the monument is that of Prior SUTTON. The sides of the canopy present a front of three pedimented, cinque-foiled arches, enriched with a profusion of ball-flower. The canopy is groined within from end to end. "The prior is represented vested, with the amice about his neck with the apparel; in the alb, the apparels of which



OXFORD CATHEDRAL.
PLATE VI.
TOMB OF SIR GEORGE NOWERS.

TOMB OF SIR GEORGE NOWERS.

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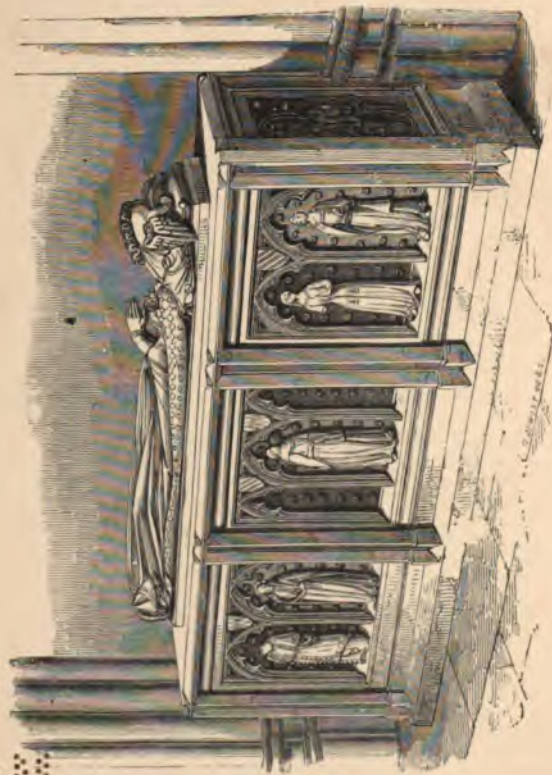


THE PRIORS' TOMB FROM THE LATIN CHAPEL.

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MONUMENT OF LADY MONTACUTE

appear at the skirt in front, and round the close-fitting sleeves at the wrists ; with the stole, and dalmatic, or tunic—which it is somewhat difficult to say : these two latter are not sculptured, but merely painted on the effigy, and are only apparent on a careful examination ; over these is worn the chasuble. This vestment is very rich, and ornamented with orphreys round the borders, over the shoulders, and straight down in front. Hanging down from the left arm is the maniple. The boots are pointed at the toes, and the feet rest against a lion. There is no indication of the pastoral staff ; the hands are joined on the breast.”—*M. H. Bloxam*. The *third* monument, a rich altar-tomb, its sides panelled and furnished with figures, is that of ELIZABETH, LADY MONTACUTE (died 1353), [Plate VIII.] ; who is erroneously said to have built the Latin chapel, and who gave to St. Frideswide’s the meadow now so well known as Christ Church Meadow, for the maintenance of two priests at her chantry in the Lady-chapel (see APPENDIX II.). She was the daughter of Sir Peter de Montfort, and wife successively of William de Montacute and Thomas de Furnival ; by the former of whom she had four sons and six daughters. Lady Montacute wears a sleeveless robe, red, and flowered with yellow and green, fastened in front with a row of ornamented buttons. The close-fitting sleeves belong to an inner vest, of a different colour and pattern. Over the robe is a mantle, fastened in front by a large and rich lozenge-shaped morse, raised in high relief. “The mantle, of a buff colour, is covered all

over with *rondeaux*, or roundels, connected together by small bands, whilst in the intermediate spaces are *fleurs-de-lys*. All these are of raised work, and deserve minute examination. They are apparently not executed by means of the chisel, but formed in some hard paste or composition, laid upon the sculptured stone, and impressed with a stamp."—*M. H. Bloxam*. Of the small figures at the sides of the tomb, those north represent two daughters of Lady Montacute, who were successively Abbesses of Barking in Essex. "Sculptured effigies of abbesses, especially of this period, are rare; and I know but of one recumbent sepulchral effigy of this class,—in Polesworth Church, Warwickshire. This is a fact which renders these the more interesting."—*M. H. B.* On the south side is a bishop, no doubt Simon of Ely (1337—1345), a son of Lady Montacute. The secular costume of the remaining figures, male and female, on both sides, is varied and full of interest. At each end of the tomb, east and west, is a very beautiful quatrefoiled compartment,—that at the head containing the Virgin and Child between the emblems of the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. John [Plate IX.]; that at the foot a female figure in relief, with long flowing hair, probably St. Mary Magdalene, between the emblems of St. Mark and St. Luke. The shields in the upper angles of the panels are those of Montfort, Montacute, and Furnival.

XIII. The *fourth* monument on this side is that known as the *Shrine of St. Frideswide*, but which really seems to have been, as Professor Willis has suggested,



PANEL ON THE WEST END OF LADY MONTACUTE'S
MONUMENT.

Model

the watching chamber which, here as elsewhere, adjoined the shrine for the protection of the gold and jewels which enriched it*. It consists of four stages; the two lower forming an altar-tomb of stone with a stone canopy; the two upper of wood, enclosing a chamber reached by a stair from the Latin chapel. [*Frontispiece.*] It belongs to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; and may very possibly, as Dr. Ingram suggests, have been erected during the primacy and under the patronage of Archbishop Morton (died 1500), who had been Chancellor of the University, and a great benefactor to it. On the altar-tomb are the matrices of two brasses, said to have represented Didan and Saffrida, the father and mother of St. Frideswide; but whether this tomb is of the same date as the superstructure is uncertain. The mitred head-dress of the lady belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century, and is the only portion of costume indicated by the outlines of the figures, which alone now remain.

To this chapel on its completion the shrine of St. Frideswide was removed and placed in a new and more costly receptacle, prepared long before, not far from the spot where it formerly stood, Sept. 10, 1289, in the presence of the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Cornwall, and other distinguished personages, Robert of Ewelene being the prior. The saint

* This chamber may be compared with the very similar wooden erection on the north side of the shrine of the saint at St. Alban's, and the fabric known as Bishop Hotham's shrine at Ely.

herself was regarded as the patroness of Oxford, and was popularly called "The Lady," and was occasionally represented with an ox at her side. An ancient tradition, derived from the fiction about her royal suitor (see Part II.), asserted that if a king of England entered her city he would be unfortunate: in defiance of which, Henry III. performed his devotions before the shrine in 1264, and within six weeks was signally 'unfortunate' in the battle of Lewes.

The relics of the saint, although they were, of course, removed from their shrine on the visitation of Henry the Eighth's commissioners, were nevertheless preserved; and were again "made accessible to the veneration of the faithful" by Cardinal Pole. On the accession of Elizabeth they were once more interred below the floor on which the shrine had originally stood. Peter Martyr, Divinity Professor at Christ Church during the reign of Edward VI., had brought within the college walls his wife, named Catherine Cathie; who, like the wife of Luther, had been a professed nun. She died before Mary's accession, and was buried in the cathedral. Cardinal Pole directed that her remains, which had been laid near the sepulchre of the holy virgin St. Frideswide, should be cast out from holy ground; and they were accordingly taken from her coffin and flung into a dunghill at the back of the deanery. Elizabeth ordered that the body should be restored to decent burial. This order was obeyed by interring the remains within the grave of St. Frideswide herself. "The married nun

and the virgin saint were buried together, and the dust of the two still remains under the pavement inextricably blended¹. The Jesuit Sanders, after expressing his indignation at this sacrilege, says, "this impious epitaph was added, 'hic jacet religio cum superstitione.'" "Although," says Fuller, "the words being capable of a favourable sense on his side, he need not have been so angry²." There is a plain trefoiled aumbry in the east wall. In the pavement of this chapel there is a small monumental brass to Edward Courtenay, son of Hugh Courtenay, the son of the Earl of Devon, and also one to John Fitzwalter.

On the pier between the tomb of Sir George Nowers and that of the prior is the monument of ROBERT BURTON, author of the well-known "Anatomy of Melancholy," who died in 1639. From 1599 he had been a student of Christ Church, and held till his death the vicarage of St. Thomas, in Oxford. The monument displays his bust, which, as seen in profile, is certainly marked by the *melancholia* which is said to have destroyed him. At the sides are a sphere and a calculation of his nativity. The inscription, written by himself, and placed here by his brother William Burton, the historian of Leicestershire, runs thus:—

"Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus
Hic jacet
Democritus Junior
Cui vitam dedit et mortem
Melancholia."

¹ Froude, Hist. Eng., vol. vi. p. 468. ² Worthies—Oxfordshire.

XIV. The northern, or *Latin Chapel* (so called from the Latin service formerly read in it as the daily college prayers), properly St. Catherine's Chapel,



One of the Windows in the Latin Chapel.

is Decorated^h. The western arch was originally that of the transept aisle. The wall of the Lady-chapel has been cut through, and somewhat large masses of it worked into the piers. The vaulting is Decorated, with gracefully turned arches and bosses enriched with foliage, among which appears that of the water-lily, still a native of the Cherwell and the Isis. [Plate X.]

The four side windows (north) of three lights, have

^h Professor Willis suggested that the architectural character of this chapel indicates too early a date to allow of its having been the work of Lady Montacute, and documentary evidence satisfactorily proves that Lady Montacute did not erect a new building, but founded her chantry in the adjacent chapel of St. Mary, or the "Lady Chapel." It is probable that the Courtenay family contributed to the erection of this chapel: their device appears in one of its windows (see APPENDIX II.).



ROSES FROM THE LATIN CHAPEL.

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very graceful flowing tracery. Three of them are partially filled with excellent stained glass of the fourteenth century, which deserves the most careful attention. Figures of saints under tabernacles occupy each light. This glass was restored to its place by Dean Liddell after a long period of banishment. The fourth window has stained glass in memory of Arch-deacon Clerke. An entirely new east window, with very heavy and strangely incongruous Venetian tracery, has been inserted as a memorial of Dr. BULL, Canon of Christ Church (died 1859). The glass, designed by Mr. BURNE JONES, has been executed by Messrs. POWELL, and deserves especial notice. The subjects are from the legend of St. Frideswide; who in the *first* light is seen at school; founding her nunnery with the chief of her companions; and sought in marriage by the messengers of the Mercian king: in the last subject the king with his forces is approaching to carry her off. In the *second* light she is seen leaving Oxford, and descending the river to a place of safety; the King of Mercia is then shewn ravaging the country about Oxford: and St. Frideswide appears among the swine. In the *third* light she retreats to Binsey; the king finding no trace of her, returns sorrowfully. Her companions join her at Binsey; where she becomes distinguished by miracles and alms-deeds. In the *fourth* light the king again seeks her; she flies to Oxford; the battle is shewn between the Mercians and the men of Oxford: and the king is struck blind with a waving shaft of lightning. The last subject is the

death of St. Frideswide, whose story will be found more at length in Part II. In the tracery above are the ship of souls convoyed by angels, and the trees of life and of knowledge. The harmonious colouring of this glass, the excellent character of the several designs, and the beauty of the details, especially of

the water-plants and animals introduced, deserve especial notice and commendation.

This chapel is fitted up with a series of side stalls with western returns. The stalling is unusually fine, and affords some very good examples. It is much later than the chapel itself, and part of it had been apparently prepared for the choir by Wolsey. One of the poppy-heads re-



Poppy-head in the Latin Chapel.

presents the Cardinal's hat supported by angels. The emblems of the Evangelists, and the sacred monogram, I.H.S., appear on others. The altar is that which stood in the choir until 1872. On the south side stands the former throne, now serving

as the 'Cathedra' of the Regius Professor of Divinity, who lectures in this chapel. This last is made up of fragments of wood-work of various dates.

Against the western wall is a monument to Dr. BULL (died 1853), below which is a mural brass to Dr. MOZLEY, late Regius Professor of Divinity (died 1878). The epitaph dwells on his rare gifts as an apologetic theologian. In the pavement are brasses to Dr. OGILVIE, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology (died 1873); Dr. SHIRLEY, Regius Professor of Divinity (died 1866); Dr. BARNES (died 1859); and Archdeacon CLERKE (died 1877).

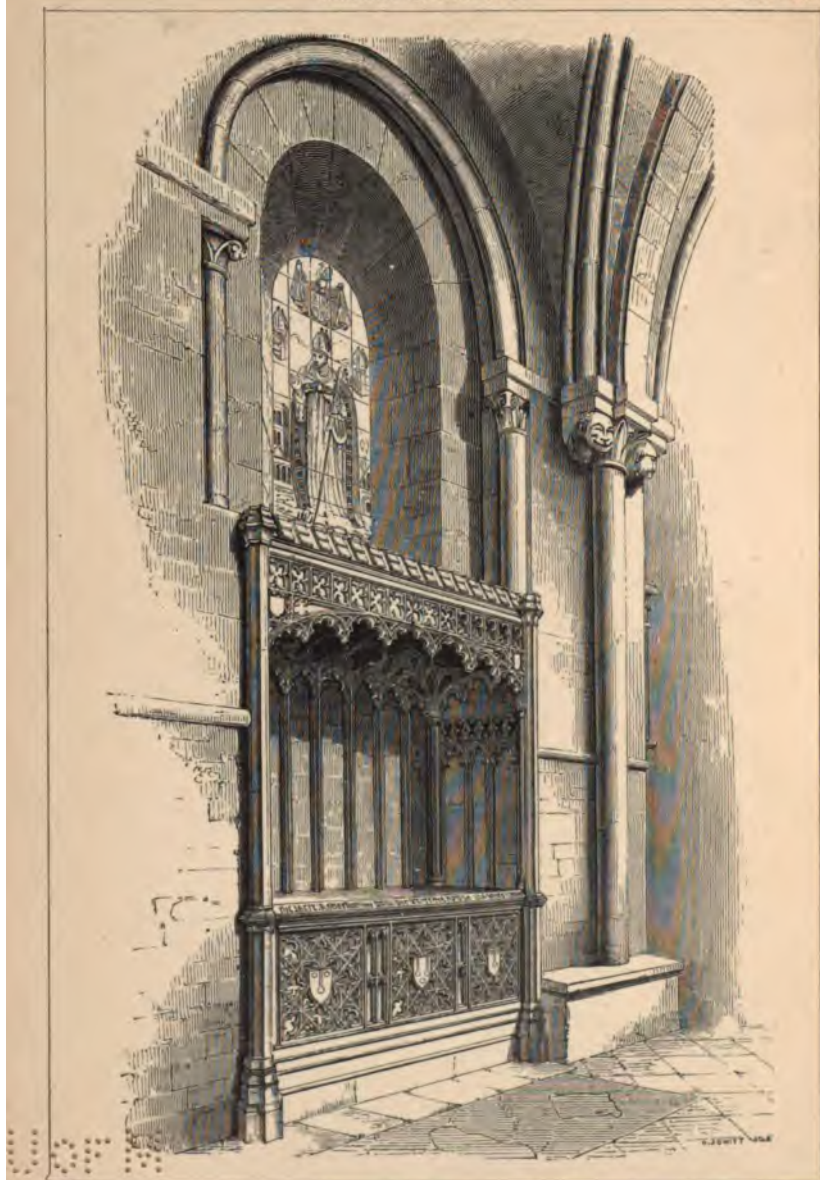
XV. Re-crossing the church, we enter the *south transept*. The original arrangements here were precisely the same as those of the transept opposite. The same rudimentary groining will be noticed in both. The western aisle, however, was destroyed, probably in order to form the cloisters, before Wolsey's alterations; and the third, or southern, bay of the entire transept was secularized, and long formed a portion of the verger's house. This bay has been recovered to the church, and forms a groined vestry below and a platform above, where are preserved many curious architectural relics, including fragments of the shrine of St. Frideswide. Here also is a curious piece of Norman sculpture, till lately forming a portion of an external buttress, which was perhaps the base of the Cross of the priory—"the Cross of the Lady Frideswide," but certainly never could have formed a portion of the 'altar' or 'shrine' of St. Frideswide, as sug-

gested by Dr. Ingram. The subjects represented are the Fall of Man, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Giving of the Law, and a fourth which has not been deciphered.

The face of this division towards the church is entirely of modern design; but every other part is a careful restoration of original work. The view of the interior from this platform is one of great beauty and interest. From no point can the architectural features of the church be more comprehensively grasped. In the gable of the transept a very beautiful short Decorated window of five lights, with intersecting mullions, has been opened. Below it the Norman wall-passage and stumpy columns will be noticed. In the spandrels of the arch of the south choir-aisle are two corbels, representing an angel and a king, the purpose of which is quite uncertain, though it has been conjectured that they may have assisted in supporting some kind of gallery towards the tower. They are of later date (Perpendicular?) than the arch itself. Against the west wall is an Ionic monument to Sir EDWARD LITTLETON (died 1654), and against the south wall one to Viscount Brouncker (died 1645), and his lady (see APPENDIX III.).

XVI. The second bay of the transept-aisle, probably the chapel of St. Lucy, formerly serving as a vestry, but now thrown into the church, is Norman with the exception of its eastern wall, which was rebuilt in order to receive a Decorated window of very beautiful and unusual character. The tracery





MONUMENT OF BISHOP KING, IN ITS ORIGINAL PLACE.

is flamboyant, and commences far below the spring of the arch. It is filled with very gorgeous painted glass, some of which is ancient, including the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose head has been replaced with white glass.

XVII. The *south choir-aisle* is entered from this transept. It is of the same date and character as the aisle opposite. Some indistinct remains of painting may be traced against the pillars of the eastern bay. This aisle contains some stone coffin-lids.

The Decorated east window of three lights has been restored, and filled with very beautiful stained glass as a memorial to EDITH LIDDELL (died 1876). Two of the side-windows, restored Norman, contain glass in memory of Dr. JELF (died 1871). The third, an unaltered Norman opening, contains stained glass (probably by Van Linge), representing ROBERT KING, the first Bishop of Oxford, fully vested, with the ruins of Oseney, of which he had been abbot, in the background¹. The arms are those of King, impaled with the abbey of Oseney and the see of Oxford. (Plate XI.) The glass was given by Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and his brother John, both of whom were canons of Christ Church in the time of Charles I., and were descended from the Bishop's brother William. During the Rebellion this window was taken down and preserved by a member of the family.

Near this window, between the aisle and the chapel,

¹ This, it is said, is the only authentic view remaining of this great abbey. It represents the condition of its ruins about 1630.



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now stands the canopied altar-tomb of Bishop KING (died 1557. See Part II.). This monument was originally placed in the choir, and was removed to its present situation by the canons Henry and John King; and in fact its unornamented back shews that it was intended to stand against a wall.

In this aisle is a very late Perpendicular piscina, with very bold square flowers in the jamb. The curious corbels supporting the transverse groining ribs should be noticed (see woodcut).

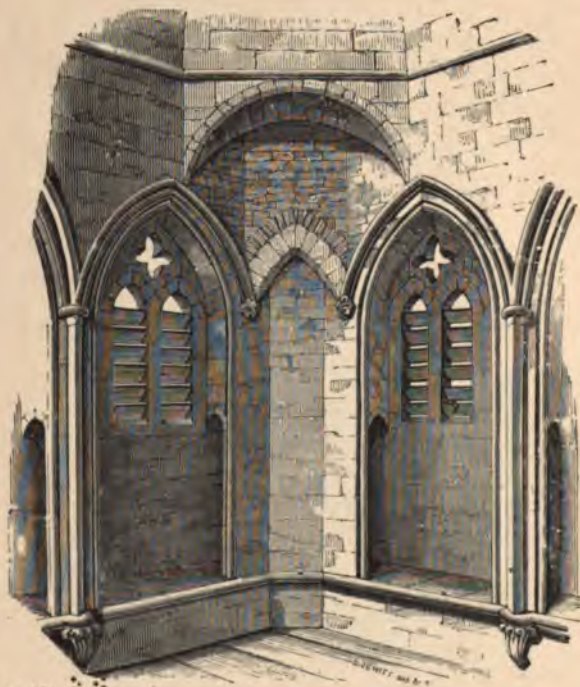


Capital and Corbels, South Aisle of Choir.

XVIII. The visitor who desires to ascend the *tower*, the arrangements of which are curious and interesting, will commence the ascent from the vestry. The upper, or *belfry-stage*, which is Early English, is



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INTERIOR OF THE TOWER, WITH ONE OF THE SQUINCHES
OF THE SPIRE.

internally octagonal; the subordinate faces, which are much smaller than the cardinal, being formed by chamfering off the angular turrets. The 'squinsches,' or small arches above these faces, support the spire. [Plate XII.] A wall-passage runs round this chamber, piercing the slender piers between the window-arches, the corbels supporting which should be noticed. The bells which formerly hung in this chamber were those of Oseney Abbey, where they hung in the great western tower represented in the window above Bishop King's monument. The fame of their melody was widely spread before their removal to Christ Church, and their names were thus recorded in a rude hexameter:—

"Hautclere, Douce,
Clement, Austyn, Marie,
Gabriel, et John."



Spire Light.

They are now removed to the new tower erected above the hall staircase, from Mr. Bodley's designs.

A narrow and awkward passage leads upward to

the lower part of the spire, in which the Early English spire-lights (see wood-cut, p. 35) deserve examination. These have a double plane of tracery; the mullion and quatrefoil in the head being repeated in the inner arch. The outer arches have two transoms, which, like the mullions, are square. Transoms are rare during the Early English period, but occur also in belfry-towers at Bampton and at Witney, both in Oxfordshire.

XIX. The *entrance to the chapter-house*, on the east side of the cloisters, is transition Norman, and apparently of the same date as the church. [*Title-page.*] It is an arch of four 'orders' or divisions, the two inner of which are richly ornamented with zigzag moulding. The two outer rise from shafts, the capitals of which on the south side are plainly cushioned; on the north they are elaborately sculptured. An ornamented label surrounds the external arch. On either side of the doorway is a semi-circular-headed window of two lights plain without, but within ornamented with the same label as the doorway. The vaulting of the cloister roof which had been broken off very near this doorway, has been restored in wood, at a higher level, so as to clear the arch.

The *chapter-house*, which is, as usual in monastic buildings, divided from the transept by the *Slype*, a plain barrel-vaulted passage, was rebuilt during the very best Early English period, of which it affords an excellent example. It may be compared with the



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INTERIOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE

chapter-house at Lincoln, also Early English, but somewhat later in the style^k, with the Early English chapter-house at Salisbury, both of which, it should be remembered, were attached to cathedrals of far greater wealth and importance than the priory of St. Frideswide, and with the chapter-house at Chester, which is nearly of the same date and character. [Plate XIII.] The purity of its style, however, and the interest of its details entitle this chapter-house to a high rank, especially now that it has been restored to its original condition. The transverse wall which divided it has been removed and the ancient level restored throughout. The room forms a parallelogram, divided into four bays, the vaulting of which springs from clustered shafts supported on brackets. The eastern end is especially beautiful. An arcade of five arches fills the entire bay. The three central arches are pierced for windows, deeply recessed, and are in fact double, the inner arches resting on slender clustered shafts with foliated capitals, the outer or window-arches resting on single shafts attached to the wall. Of these outer arches those north and south are blank. The three central ones are pierced, and form a very striking triplet, each light of which is crossed by a transom, with a later four-centred arch beneath. The foliage and ornaments of the clustered shafts and capitals, as

^k It should be remembered that until the reign of Henry VIII. Oxford was in the diocese of Lincoln, and that the same company of workmen may have been passed from one place to the other.

well as those introduced between the arcade and the



Boss in the Chapter-house.

roof, are most graceful and deserve all possible attention. The two eastern bays on the south side, and the eastern bay on the north, have similar arcades of three arches, the centre arch of which, now blocked up, was originally open as a window. The details of these arcades are less rich than those of the eastern, but should be noticed, as well as the grotesque corbels which support the vaulting-shafts, and the bosses at the intersection of the vaulting-ribs, which are curious and elaborate. One of them represents the Virgin, crowned, presenting an apple to the divine Infant.

The chapter-house contains a chest covered with rich flamboyant panelling, a finely carved Elizabethan table, and some wainscoting of the same period, all well deserving of attention. On the roof are some remains of ancient painting, St. Peter and St. Paul being easily discernible, and the windows contain some interesting stained glass. [Plate XIV.] In the east wall is the foundation-stone of Wolsey's College at Ipswich, bequeathed to the Dean and Chapter in 1789 by the Rev. Richard Canning,



ROUNDELS OF STAINED GLASS IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE

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Rector of Harkstead and Freston in Suffolk, who found it built into a wall. The inscription (at length) runs, "Anno Christi 1528, et Regni Henrici Octavi, Regis Angliæ 20, mensis vero Junii 15, positum per Johannem, Episcopum Lidensem." This Bishop was John Holt, titular Bishop of Lydda, and probably a suffragan of Lincoln.

XX. The *cloister* originally formed a square, but the west walk and part of the north shared the fate of the west front of the church, being removed by Wolsey in order to form the staircase leading to the hall of his college. The basement of the northern part of this walk has been discovered and made good during the late restoration. What remained of the north walk was converted into a muniment-room. But the whole of this side has now been completed and restored to its original destination. The fine lierne groined roof has been made good throughout. On its walls are the monumental tablets ejected from the interior. The cloisters and refectory are traditionally said to have been built with funds bequeathed for the purpose by Lady Montacute, but the work is certainly of much later date. The vaulting—which is peculiar—and the windows cannot be earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, judging from the character of some of the bosses. The panelling of the sides of the windows should be compared with that introduced in the clerestory of the choir, with which it agrees even to the character of the cusps. This cloister quadrangle

was the scene of Cranmer's degradation¹. In the area are the bases of the ancient lavatory.

XXI. The ancient *refectory* of the priory rises above the south walk of the cloister, but has been converted into sets of rooms. On the north side its large and handsome Perpendicular windows of three lights, remain. On the south side a curious little polygonal projection will be noticed once containing the reading pulpit.

From this point the visitor should remark the difference of *masonry* in the wall of the south transept. The upper story is of good ashlar work: the lower, in which are round-headed window-openings, is rudely built of rubble. Some have imagined that this lower story belonged to an earlier church, the walls of which were raised by the Norman builders. But the fact is that this rubble-work was originally an inside wall covered by the sloping aisle-roof. The windows formed the openings of a triforium space above the aisle, as in other Norman cathedrals, such as Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough.

XXII. From the cloister also a good near view is obtained of the central *tower* and *spire*. The lower story of the tower, as high as the belfry-stage, is late Norman, of the same date as the nave: the belfry-stage itself and the spire which surmounts it are Early English. On each side of the lower story the line of the ancient high roof may be seen, rising

¹ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vii. p. 386.

nearly to the string below the belfry. On either side of the roof-line is a round-headed window. At each angle is a circular turret, which is continued through the Early English belfry-stage, but diminished in size, and ornamented with a slender and graceful arcade. Each turret terminates above the belfry-stage in a pinnacle similarly ornamented. These pinnacles are modern; but are faithful,



Window in the Tower.

or, more truly, servile imitations of the ancient ones; of which not only the original features, but those resulting from the wear and tear of six centuries, have been too exactly copied. An arcade is carried round the walls of the belfry-stage, the two central arches of which, on each side, are pierced for windows.

The *spire*, "an impressive and noble work, though of low proportions" (*Sir G. G. Scott*), if not absolutely the most ancient, is one of the earliest in England. It is octagonal, with circular ribs at the angles; and of the 'broche' form (i.e. it rises from the exterior of

the tower walls), like most others of that early period. Its projecting eaves are supported by a corbel-table of pointed arches. In the cardinal faces, near the base, is a single range of projecting spire-lights, much resembling the windows of the belfry-stage. The upper



Original top of the Spire.

part of the spire, above the lights, was rebuilt at the same time as the pinnacles; but the beautiful finial of foliage with which it originally terminated was not reproduced. The old spire-point has been re-erected in one of the canons' gardens, where it may still be seen. (For the interior of the tower and spire, see § XVIII.)

XXIII. The only exterior view of the north side and east end of the cathedral is to be obtained from the garden of the

canon's house which adjoins it; to enter which permission must, of course, be asked. [Plate I.] The

best point of view will be found to be the north-east corner of the garden, from which the eastern end with its gabled chapels, the north transept with its turrets and pinnacles, and the central tower and spire, form a mass sufficiently varied and picturesque. The transept is flanked by square turrets, resembling those at the east end, and nearly of the same date. They are capped with slender spires, ornamented with shafts and having conical terminations. These are transitional, and earlier than the terminations of the tower turrets, with which they should be compared. The transept-turrets have blind arcades, the arches of the two lower ranges of which are pointed, the upper circular. At the angle of the transept-aisle rises a square turret, terminating in a spire having crockets at the angles, and in the west face a niche containing a statue of St. Frideswide. The upper part of the turret, with the figure, is of early Perpendicular character. The Latin Chapel here exhibits a very fine composition with its dignified gabled buttresses, and elegant windows of flowing tracery. This praise must be withheld from the unfortunate Venetian eastern window, the effect of which is even worse than from within. The *east end*, which is a good example of late enriched Norman, consists of a gable, which has been lowered, between two square turrets, which in all probability terminated originally in slender spires, such as still remain at the north transept gable. The turrets are enriched with blind arcades, the uppermost of which has pointed, the lowest inter-

secting arches. The eastern elevation, as restored by Sir G. G. Scott, is singularly beautiful. Its chief feature is a large Transition Norman wheel-window, the spokes being formed of shafts with capitals, the blank spaces being relieved by rich pateræ. There are two tall Norman lights below the wheel and a blind arcade above it.

The square eastern end is perhaps another indication of late or transitional work. The earlier Norman choirs generally terminated in an apse.

The alterations commenced in the clerestory of the transept (§ x.) should here be noticed from the exterior.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from the Report of Sir George Gilbert Scott, B.A.

JUNE 3RD, 1869.

It seems certain that the old church of the Nunnery of St. Frideswide was burnt at the beginning of the eleventh century, and it is said that it was subsequently rebuilt, repaired, or enlarged by King Ethelred II. Dr. Ingram evinces great anxiety to prove that traces of his work still exist, but I need hardly say there is not a shadow of foundation for such a supposition.

The Monastery was granted by the Conqueror to the Abbey of Abingdon as a cell, but no new buildings are mentioned, though the ruinous condition of the old ones is alluded to.

After some changes in its constitution, the monastery was, in 1111 or 1122, made over to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine under Guymond (Chaplain to King Henry I.), their first Prior, who ruled the Priory till 1141. It is not mentioned that he rebuilt the church, and it is more probable that his first attention would be rather directed to the monastic buildings, as the transfer from secular to regular canons would necessitate wholly new arrangements.

It is probable that the doorway to the chapter-house, with the wall on either side of the same, is a part of his work.

The church, being in a style distinctly transitional, rather than purely Romanesque or Norman, was probably built by his immediate successor. Browne Willis says the two succeeding priors finished the church. All we know of

it from documentary evidence is that it was sufficiently advanced in 1180 to allow of the translation of the relics of St. Frideswide from her sepulchre into the new shrine, at which solemnity the Archbishop and many great dignitaries were present.

In 1190 a large part of the city of Oxford was destroyed by fire, and the Priory of St. Frideswide did not escape. It is clear, however, that the church itself did not materially suffer, though in all probability the monastic buildings were much injured, and among them I think the chapter-house, and the cloister which ran along in front of its entrance, must have suffered severely, for the old Norman doorway and the adjoining wall are to this day reddened by fire.

The architecture of the church agrees perfectly with the date thus assigned to it. Nor is that architecture merely one amongst the many varieties which the ever-changing progress of mediæval art produced. It is much more than this. It is in some respects the most important of all its phases, being the transition between two of the most marked styles which architecture has ever assumed.

Roman architecture, from the reminiscences of which all our mediæval styles have sprung, had overlaid a construction essentially arcuated with features borrowed from the trabeated buildings of Greece, and it unhappily had been left to periods of declining civilization and art to eliminate these inconsistencies and to develop a truly arcuated style. In Western Europe it was not till the twelfth century that the style, thus generated under unfavourable circumstances, began in good earnest to free itself from semi-barbaric details, and to take vigorous steps towards asserting its claims to being a really refined and artistic form of architecture. It was just at this juncture that the building under consideration was erected; and one hardly knows whether to regret or rejoice that the prospect at that moment (and only, as it were, for a moment) held out of the perfecting of the round-arched style into a high and refined form of art was at the very

same moment threatened with disappointment by the introduction of another form of arch which was destined to bring about the entire transformation of the architecture of Western Europe.

Oxford Cathedral, then, represents the juncture of a *double* transformation in architectural art,—the earnest strivings of a period of revived civilization for a high and refined form of art in building,—taking the direction of perfecting and elevating the existing round-arched style—accompanied, almost unconsciously, and evidently without an idea of its ultimate consequences, by the introduction here and there of another form of arch.

At no previous period of mediæval architecture had the details or the workmanship evinced such rapid advance, nor at any subsequent period do we find evidences of more earnest determination to perfect the art they had in hand. Every detail bears witness to the most careful study; the profile of every moulding shews refined and subtile art. The foliated ornament assumes a noble character, evidently evincing a study of the ancient Greek, which was effected through a Byzantine medium; and the same, though yet unpurged from relics of a barbaric element, may be traced in the figure-sculpture; while the workmanship, even to the tooling of the stone, is often so beautiful that our modern masons find it impossible to imitate it.

The church, as at first completed, was of singularly uniform and homogeneous design. It seems to have had a nave of eight bays in length, a choir of five bays, and transepts of three bays. If so, the proportion of the plan seems to have been precisely that which some writers pronounce to be the best—that in which a double equilateral triangle of the whole internal length gives by its common base the internal length of the transept*.

* The dimensions given by William of Worcester in his Itinerary throw some doubts on these proportions.

The transepts had western as well as eastern aisles, which had not, apparently, been contemplated by the builder of the Norman chapter-house, the entrance to which was placed in a line with the main wall of the transept, as is the case where no western aisle exists. The same is the case at Westminster, where the church of the Confessor probably had no western transept aisles; and the result of their subsequent adoption led to the cloister and the aisle interpenetrating one another in a unique manner. At St. Frideswide's it more probably led for a time to the omission (as at Wells) of the northern walk of the cloister, and, at a later period, to the removal of the difficulty by the destruction of the aisle to allow of the completion of the cloister.

One of the most remarkable features in the design of the church is the mode of dealing with the side arcades. The small scale of the building would, in the natural course of things, render the pillars and arcades low and of stumpy proportions. This has been obviated by the ingenious expedient of dividing the pillars and arches, as it were, into two halves in their thickness, the half facing the aisle retaining its natural height and proportions, but that facing the central space being so raised as to embrace the triforium stage, the openings of which appear between the two ranges of arches; the clerestory ranging above. This has been fancied by some to be the result of alteration, but it is clearly the original design. Nor is it without precedent; for we find the same of earlier date, in part of the abbey church at Romsey, and also in the choir of Jedburgh; and the same, of perhaps a few years' later date, and on a far more magnificent scale, and with pointed arches, existed at Glastonbury.

The arches are for the most part round, though two of those carrying the tower, those of the higher vaulting (so far as they can be judged of), and those of some minor features, were pointed. Among the latter may be mentioned the clerestory windows of the nave—which, with the vaults of the aisles of the nave, and some other details, seem to

shew the nave to have been of a slightly later date than the choir and transepts. The central tower had a lantern story (of two ranges of arcading) open to the church.

The designs of the ends of the main arms of the cross are in great measure lost, excepting the facts that they were flanked by turrets, that the east end had a large circular window, with other windows below it, and that the south transept had a continuation across its end of the clerestory stage of arches, etc.

Only one of the aisle windows now remains, but there are two windows of the same range (now walled up) in the projecting eastern bay of the choir. These are of excellent, though simple, design. One original doorway only exists, and that of a very minor class, and is walled up and otherwise injured. The two chapels which existed in the eastern aisle of each of the transepts appear to have had deep recesses for their altars.

The most prominent among the additions of the thirteenth century is the upper stage of the tower, with its spire—an impressive and noble work, though of low proportions.

The Norman chapter-house was, in all probability, much injured by the fire of 1190. I should imagine that it was temporarily repaired, as the present charming structure must be of considerably later date, probably towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

Were its proportions not spoiled by its division by a modern wall into two parts, it would be one of the most elegant rooms of its period and scale.

During this century a second aisle was added on the north side of the choir, including an extension eastward by one bay of the north-eastern chapel of the north transept.

The former of these additions I conceive to have been intended as a new position for the shrine of St. Frideswide, as we find that in 1289 the shrine was removed to a new

position in a new and more precious shrine, "near to the place where the old one stood."

This must have been long subsequent to the completion of the new aisle, but it is expressly stated of the new shrine itself that it "had been several years before prepared."

The prior at the time of this re-translation was Robert de Ewelme, who resigned the office two years later, and it was in all probability his successor, Alexander de Sutton, who chose the arch between this aisle and the addition to the north-eastern chapel as his place of sepulture, and whose beautiful canopied tomb still occupies that position.

Many minor alterations were effected during the fourteenth century. As, for example:—The original east windows were removed, and a large Decorated window of five lights substituted; the east windows of the choir aisles were replaced by three-light Decorated windows. The east window of the second north aisle of the choir was replaced by a four-light Decorated window. The great west windows were also replaced by a large Decorated window, of which the jambs, arch, and mullions still exist, though removed when the church was shortened. A Decorated window of five lights was also introduced in the upper stage of the south transept front, over the roof of the chapter-house (as I have recently discovered). The northern chapel at the east of the south transept was also rebuilt (as regards its eastern wall) in the same style, with a very beautiful window of three lights.

The greatest work, however, of this period was the addition of a large chapel to the north of the second north aisle of the choir. This was founded by Lady Elizabeth de Montacute^b, whose beautiful effigy occupies the westernmost of the two arches of its own date which separate it from the aisle which contained St. Frideswide's shrine.

^b See, however, APPENDIX II.

The erection of this chapel obliterated the original north-east chapel, which had been enlarged in the previous century, but its history may still be read in the pier, partly of the twelfth and partly of the thirteenth century, and the arch of the last-named century, which remain towards the south-western angle of the present chapel. The chapel is of four bays in length, each containing a large three-light window with flowing tracery. The eastern window was probably of five lights. Like the other chapels, it is vaulted. Externally it has a high gabled roof.

All the works of this century in the church seem to belong to the later division of the style, and to have a certain degree of similarity in their detail.

To the fifteenth century probably belongs the curious structure now called the shrine of St. Frideswide, but really the watching-chamber to the shrine. It formed, probably, the tomb of its donors. A structure somewhat similar remains at St. Alban's, and is known as the *Watch Tower*.

It is not easy to distinguish with certainty between what was done late in this century and early in the next; but, between the two, considerable alterations appear to have been effected, the general tendency of which was to give to certain parts of the church the character of a structure of the Perpendicular style.

These works may be thus enumerated. The re-construction of the clerestory of the choir with its vaulting; the commencement of a somewhat similar alteration of the north transept, with the introduction of a large Perpendicular window to the same; the rebuilding of the wall of the north aisle of the nave, and the re-modelling, in a great degree, of those of the south aisles of nave and choir, and the western aisle of the north transept; and, lastly, the re-construction of the cloister, with the removal of the western aisle of the south transept.

By these alterations all the side windows of the aisles with a single exception, were converted into three-light Perpendicular windows, as also were such of the end windows as had not been already altered.

It had been customary to attribute the vaulting of the choir to Wolsey; this (apparent) error was, I believe, first perceived by the late Dr. Shirley. He pointed out to me the evidence he had obtained, at the time of my former survey, but I regret that I cannot now recollect it, beyond the similarity of the vaulting to that of the Divinity School, which was probably executed about 1478*.

The bay of re-constructed clerestory and incipient vaulting

* I have adopted this view, so far as the evidence before me has enabled me to form an opinion, though the two entries in the Journal of Expenses in building Cardinal College relating to the vaulting of the choir may appear to negative it. Mr. Parker, in his *Oxford Guide*, unhesitatingly (and probably on this evidence) ascribes the vaulting to Cardinal Wolsey, and goes on to say that a continuation of the work was commenced in the north transept, but was suspended on his fall.

Now, nothing would appear more natural than that, after the choir had been vaulted, the same operation should be continued in the transept; and I quite hold it to have been the case. But we gather from Browne Willis that this continuation was *not* commenced by Wolsey, but some thirty years before he took the College in hand, by the will of Zouch, a monk of the monastery, whose tomb still remains beneath the window of the transept; so that this throws a doubt at once upon the greater work having been Wolsey's.

Had the first entry only existed, which speaks of the "*new vault* of the roof of the quere within the said college," it would appear decisive in favour of Wolsey having vaulted the choir of St. Frideswide,—but the second entry speaks in very similar terms of "the vault of the roof of the *new church*," which leads one to suppose that *both* may refer to the intended church rather than to the existing one. It seems on the whole to be an open question, which additional evidence may settle either way.

to the north transept, including probably the great north window, was not erected till the beginning of the following century, having been paid for by a bequest of one James Zouch, a monk of this church, who died in 1503, and was buried under the great window.

Besides the last-named work, it is probable that the flat roofs of the nave and transepts are of the sixteenth century, as well as the unfortunate shortening of the nave to one-half of its original length—the only work connected with the church with certainty to be attributed to Wolsey, who, it would appear, had commenced the erection of an entirely new and very magnificent edifice⁴.

The cutting off a bay from the south transept was probably effected after his time.

The concealment of the lantern story of the tower may belong to this century.

During the seventeenth century the choir was refitted by Dean Duppa, who also with munificent intention presented to the church a large quantity of stained glass by Van Linge.

It is much to be deplored that, to suit this glass, which was designed in very wide lights, many of the windows which received it were so entirely altered that their design was quite lost. Such was the case with all the Perpendicular windows in the aisles, thirteen in number, which had each three lights with tracery heads, but were changed into two-light windows without tracery. Those to the south aisle of the nave had their mullions transferred to the inner face of the wall. The Decorated windows of three lights which terminated the choir-aisles were similarly converted into plain two-light windows; the beautiful four-

⁴ I may mention, however, the fittings of the north chapel, of which one stall-end has the Cardinal's hat carved upon it: may these have been prepared for his intended new church?

light window to the second north aisle of the choir was similarly treated. The five-light Decorated east window of the north chapel was converted into a three-light window. The great north transept window was impoverished in its tracery, as was probably the case with the great west window; and at the end of this century the same process was applied to the great east window, which was reduced from five to three lights.

To this century also belong the rather curious stone screens which sever the eastern chapels from the transepts, and many monuments, some of which have mutilated the old architecture while they add interest to the building.

The south porch also may belong to this date, and I fancy there has been a diminutive porch opposite to it.

* * * * *

To the architectural and ecclesiastical antiquary, every stage in the history of a sacred edifice has its value, and possesses an interest of its own, so that the obliteration of the work of any one period is like tearing out a leaf in the visible history of the structure. Where this historical interest ceases it is difficult to judge. One would hardly say that it applies to mere mutilations or ill-judged alterations of late periods, though some of the works of such times may be worthy of respect.

I have sometimes attempted to lay down a rule that all is to be respected which is antecedent to the extinction of our national architecture in the sixteenth century; and this, if not taken *exclusively*, may be in the main right. Yet one must admit that *some* works anterior to that great change may be questionable as to their claims for preservation, and certainly *some* works of later date possess such claims.

It follows that, if we adopt that rule in the main, its application must be open to a certain amount of judicious eclecticism, while this should rigorously exclude mere individual fancies and preferences.

The historical sketch which I have above attempted is sufficient to show that, while what remains of the original fabric of the twelfth century possesses an interest superior to any later portions, each addition nevertheless has a share of interest belonging to itself, till we arrive at the mere mutilations of late periods.

As any attempt to restore the original design, pure and simple, would obviously involve the destruction of parts which no one would for a moment hear of losing, it seems to follow that where such restoration would, in minor cases, cause the loss of parts, which, though of dubious merit, still belong to the history of the building during the continuance of our national styles of architecture, such restorations should not be attempted without serious consideration.

APPENDIX II.



It is commonly asserted that the so-called Latin (properly St. Catherine's) Chapel was erected by the Lady Elizabeth Montacute as her own chantry. This, however, is erroneous. In the foundation-deed of her chantry she expressly directs the masses and other offices to be said "within the chapel of the Blessed Mary," i.e., the adjacent chapel to the south. The prior and convent, also, in their "first ordinance" with regard to the foundation are still more explicit; "in Capella Beatæ Mariæ juxta feretrum Sanctæ Frideswidæ." The two chaplains were also bound to attend the daily mass "de Beata Maria" in "the said chapel" (*Registr. S. Frideswidæ*). The documents relating to the foundation of this chantry do not contain a word about the erection of a new chapel, and, in fact, the foundress' bequest before long proved inadequate to the maintenance of the two chaplains specified. The Courtenay family probably contributed to the building of St. Catherine's chapel, and their device appears in one of the windows, as it does on Edward Courtenay's brass. St. Catherine, it may be mentioned, was regarded as the patroness of students in theology, and she is specially named in one of the "Lives of St. Frideswide" as having appeared, accompanied by St. Cecilia, to the dying saint.

APPENDIX III.



THE south transept has a special historical interest from the graves and monuments contained in it, which recall the period when Christ Church was occupied by Charles I. as his royal residence, and the city of Oxford his (almost) last remaining stronghold. Within the transept lie several distinguished royalists: Viscount Brouncker, chamberlain to Charles II. when Prince of Wales, died 1645; Viscount Grandison, who died at Oxford of wounds received in the attack on Bristol in 1643; Sir John Smith, who, in the battle of Edgehill, "redeemed the banner royal," was knighted on the field by King Charles, and died of his wounds in 1644, ætat. 28; Sir W. Pennyman, Governor of Oxford, died 1643; Sir Edward Littleton, Keeper of the Great Seal, who, during the "execrable siege of this city," took up arms for "the royal majesty," and whose funeral sermon was preached by Henry Hammond, then canon, in 1645.

OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE history of St. Frideswide, the site of whose priory is now occupied by the college and cathedral of Christ Church, has been involved in so much legend and uncertainty, that it is scarcely possible to ascertain the amount of truth which it may really contain. No life exists which is nearly contemporary. William of Malmesbury and Prior Philip of Oxford have both told the story of the saint; the first in his *Gest. Pont. Ang.* (p. 315, Rolls Series), the second in a narrative which remains in MS. in the Bodleian. Extracts from what seems to have been an earlier life of St. Frideswide are preserved in Leland's *Collectanea*, p. 279.

Early in the eighth century, according to the legend, St. Frideswide or Fritheswyth, was born at Oxford, of which city and district her father, Didan, was the ruler. Her mother's name was Saffrida. With a zeal then by no means unusual among noble Saxon ladies, Frideswide, who had been educated by a devout nun named Elgiva, early devoted herself to a monastic life, and induced twelve of her companions to follow her example. Her father, Didan, built a convent for her within the walls of Oxford, which he dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints. But Algar, King of Mercia, the province within which Oxford was situated, demanded Frideswide in marriage; and as his entreaties

were ineffectual, he determined to carry her off by force. She fled to "Benton," probably Bensington, where she and two nuns, who accompanied her, found refuge among the woods, in a "deserted sheltering-place for swine*." By one account, Algar pursued her, and she returned "by secret paths"; to Oxford, and when all but overtaken, imprecated a judgment upon him, and he was forthwith struck blind. By another, he threatened destruction to Oxford, assuming that she was concealed within it; and so, at "the north gate," incurred this supernatural infliction.

After a time, Frideswide chose for herself and a few of her nuns a place of more entire seclusion at Thornbury, now Binsey, a quiet spot "thick-set with trees," near Oxford. When her life drew to an end, she returned to her convent, and died there on the 19th of October, in 735 or 740, or, according to Alban Buller, later in the century^d. The legend abounds in miracles and visions. Imagination has clearly been at work in ante-dating by more than a century the importance of Oxford^e, and in adding a "King Algar" to the Mercian line. But that Frideswide did found a nunnery on this spot, and died there after a life of monastic piety, may be taken as certain. Nor can we doubt that her foundation, together with the treasure of her sacred remains, was the original and ecclesiastical, as Edward the Elder's castle was the later and temporal nucleus, of the rising border town. After some time^f the nuns were succeeded by secular canons, who held the church, when, in 1015, some followers of two murdered Danish Earls (Sigefrht and

* MS. Life of St. Frideswide, and Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, p. clii.

^b Malmesb., *Gest. Pontif.*, p. 315.

^c *Lives of the Saints*, Oct. 19, Mabillon gives the date 735. (*Annal. Benedict.* ii. 101.)

^d *Ibid.*

^e Oxford first appears in the *Saxon Chronicle* A.D. 912.

^f Capgrave says that the church was burnt by Danes (*Nova Legenda*).

Morkere), being worsted in the attempt to avenge their lords, fled into its tower, and the pursuers, unable to dislodge them, set fire to the building and burned them with it. Ethelred II., by way of making amends for this sacrilege, repaired and enriched the church. This, at any rate, is what William of Malmesbury tells us he had read in the archives of St. Frideswide². In another work he gives rather fuller details, and speaks of the fugitives as "Danes condemned to death³," as if he were referring to the massacre of St. Brice's day in 1002, with which, indeed, the charter ascribed to Ethelred, in the beginning of the *Registrum Sanctæ Frideswide*, connects the incident; and although this charter is rejected by Kemble and Freeman, it has been suggested that Malmesbury, in the former passage, may have mistaken the statement of which he had taken notes⁴. In either case it is quite probable enough that Ethelred should have become a benefactor to what the Charter makes him describe as "myne owen mynster in Oxenford;" and it was afterwards said that, in consequence of his enlargements, "sepulchrum quod ante fuerat in parte meridionali medium ex tunc esse contigit⁵." The canons of St. Frideswide were registered in Doomsday as holding of the King lands which they had held in the time of King Edward: which seems to dispose of the story that Edward had compelled them to make way for monks, and that Harold II. reinstated them⁶. The "Registrum," followed by Capgrave, certainly says that after Ethelred's time and before the Conquest, "a certain king" made over St. Frideswide's to the Abbot of Abingdon, but that after some years the canons regained their own. If such a transfer and restoration took place, it was more probably after the compilation

² De Gest. Regum.

³ De Gest. Pontif.

⁴ James Parker, in History of Oxford, p. 24; he accepts the Charter.

⁵ MS. Life.

⁶ Leonard Hutten, ap. Hearne's Textus Roffensis, p. 302.

of Doomesday than before the Conquest". All that we can be sure of is, that, according to the account of the contemporary William of Malmesbury, "there were in his time very few clerics" at St. Frideswide's, "and they lived as they pleased," until "that place was given by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, to Guimond, a canon who was excellent as a scholar, and not despicable as a monk". Bishop Roger, of whom the same writer tells us that "by asking, or buying, or if need were by seizing," he had drawn many churches into his grasp^o, and who is known, from an extant deed, to have exchanged a piece of land "near St. Frideswide's church" with the Abbot of Abingdon, for some other property^p, was likely enough to have acquired rights over the minster itself; and he made a good use of them when, most probably at Henry I.'s request^q, he gave the church to Guimond or Wimond, who was the King's chaplain, an Augustinian canon regular, and a man of energy, of zeal for learning, and, according to a story traditional at St. Frideswide's, of some humour withal^r. On taking possession, in 1122^s, he proceeded thereupon to establish an Augustinian community in place of the secular canons, and became first of a line of priors of "St. Frideswide's, Oxon." It is by no means improbable that a monastic school established by this "excellent scholar," as Malmes-

^m Tanner (but with little probability) thinks it happened twice, before and after the Conquest (Notit. Mon.).

ⁿ De Gest. Pontif., p. 316.

^o Historia Novella, l. 2.

^p Hist. Monast. Abingdon, ii. 76, Rolls Series.

^q The Registrum, representing the wish to claim an actual "royal founder," ascribes the grant to Henry I. Doubtless he sanctioned it; but Malmesbury, followed by Wendover (Flores Hist. ii. 188), is explicit in ascribing it to Bishop Roger.

^r See it in Dugdale, Monast. ii. 135.

^s The date 1122 is given in the Registrum, and is more probable than the earlier date given by Wendover.

in the province of Athens. In 1542 he became Bishop of Oseney, and in 1545 Bishop of Oxford, as already mentioned. Little or nothing is known of his real character, which may not necessarily have been unworthy one because, as Strype informs us, "he passed through all the changes under King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary;" or because "when suffragan he preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he most fiercely inveighed against such as used the New Testament," whilst in Queen Mary's reign he was "a persecutor of the Protestants." He died in 1557, leaving a considerable personal estate to his nephew, Philip King; "which it seems," says Fuller, "was quickly consumed, so that John King, Bishop of London (son of Philip), used to say he believed there was a fate in abbey money no less than abbey land, which seldom proved fortunate, or of continuance to the owners." For an example of this branch of the "ancient Devonshire family," see the introduction and notes to Bishop Henry King's "Poems and Psalms," edited by the Rev. J. Hannah. London, 1843.

Not many of the successors of Bishop King in the see of Oxford have been men of celebrity. The see remained vacant for ten years after his death, when

[A.D. 1567—Oct. 1568] HUGH CURWEN was translated to it. He had been dean of Hereford and Queen Mary's Archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor of Ireland^u; but preferring,

^u Church History.

* Curwen was a "moderate Papist," according to Fuller, who explains the fact that "no person, of what quality soever, in all Ireland, did suffer martyrdom" in Queen Mary's days, by the following singular, and not very credible story:—"About the third of the reign of Queen Mary, a pursuivant was sent with a commission into Ireland to empower some eminent persons to proceed with fire and faggot against poor Protestants. It happened, by Divine Providence, this pursuivant at Chester lodged in the house of a Protestant inn-keeper, who having got some inkling of the matter, secretly stole his commission out of his

according to Godwin, the "tranquillity and repose" of Oxford, he procured his translation thither. In the following year, "very decrepid, broken with old age and many state affairs," says Fuller, he died at Swinbroke, near Burford, and was interred in the parish church there.

For twenty years (1568—1589) the see of Oxford was again vacant. Fuller asserts, what was probably the truth, that "the cause that church was so long a widow, was the want of a competent estate to prefer her^r." Browne Willis says of Elizabeth's arbitrary acts of spoliation, "she took away the best of the estates, and kept the bishoprick vacant forty-one years of her forty-nine years' reign" (i. 417). At length

[A.D. 1589—1592] JOHN UNDERHILL, Rector of Lincoln College, one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, and himself a native of Oxford, was appointed to it, "being persuaded," writes Browne Willis, "to accept it in the way of a better. But it proved very much out of his way. For ere the first-fruits were paid, he died in great discontent and poverty." He was buried in the choir of his cathedral.

A vacancy of eleven years [1592—1604] again occurs.

[A.D. 1604—1618] JOHN BRIDGES, Prebendary of Winchester and Dean of Salisbury, was appointed on the accession of James I. A "competent estate," though by no means a

cloak-bag, and put the knave of clubs in the room thereof. Some weeks after, he appeared before the Lords of the Privy Council at Dublin (of whom Bishop Curwen a principal), and produced a card for his pretended commission. They caused him to be committed to prison for such an affront, as done on design to deride them. Here he lay for some months, till with much ado he got his enlargement. Then over he returned to England, and quickly getting his commission renewed, makes with all speed for Ireland again. But before his arrival there, he was prevented with the news of Queen Mary's death; and so the lives of many, and the liberties of more poor servants of God, were preserved."—*Worthies — Westmoreland.*

^r Worthies—Oxfordshire.

great one, had by this time been found for the support of the see; and the succession of bishops continues henceforth unbroken.

[A.D. 1619, translated to Durham 1628.] JOHN HOWSON, student and canon of Christ Church, was consecrated, says Fuller, "on his birthday, in his climacterical, he then entering upon the sixty-third year of his age." He was a writer of considerable reputation; his four sermons "against the Pope's supremacy," "enjoyed on him by King James (to clear his causeless aspersion of favouring Popery), and never since replied unto by the Romish party, have made him famous to all posterity," according to Fuller. He was one of the original members of Chelsea College, founded by James I. for the defence of the Church of England, and "to afford divines leisure and other conveniences to spend their time wholly in controversy, and maintain the Reformation against Papists and Dissenters." A provost and seventeen fellows were established in it, besides two historians, "who were to transmit the affairs of Church and State to posterity*." The design, however, soon proved an entire failure; and the buildings and endowments were afterwards appropriated to their present use—the support and maintenance of superannuated soldiers. Bishop Howson died in 1632.

[A.D. 1628, translated to Norwich in 1632.] RICHARD CORBET, Dean of Christ Church. (See NORWICH CATHEDRAL.)

A.D. 1632—1641.] JOHN BANCROFT, Master of University College, was the nephew of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. He recovered much land, which had been alienated, for his college, and did much for his see, the revenues of which were still but scanty. He obtained the royalty of Shotover for it, and annexed to it in perpetuity the vicarage of Cuddesdon, "where he built a fair palace and a chapel, expending on both about three thousand five

* Collier, Church History, pt. ii. bk. 8.

hundred pounds'. "Cujus munificentiae" (said the Oxford Orator to the King at Woodstock) "debemus, quod incertis mitra, surrexerit e pulvere in palatium." The palace was burnt during the civil war, but was afterwards rebuilt by Bishop Fell, and was restored and enlarged by Bishop Wilberforce. Bishop Bancroft was buried in the parish church of Cuddesdon.

[A.D. 1641, translated to Worcester 1663.] ROBERT SKINNER, was translated to Oxford from the see of Bristol. Bishop Skinner was imprisoned during the civil war, and expelled from his see. He remained in obscurity until the Restoration, when he was elevated to the see of Worcester. He died in 1670 at the age of eighty, the last English Bishop who had been consecrated before the Great Rebellion.

[A.D. 1663—1665.] WILLIAM PAUL, Canon of Chichester and Dean of Lichfield; collected materials for the restoration of his palace at Cuddesdon, but died before the work was begun. He was buried at Baldwin Brightwell, in Oxfordshire, where his monument remains.

[A.D. 1665, translated to Worcester 1671.] WALTER BLANDFORD, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, was consecrated by the Bishops of London, Gloucester, and Exeter, in the chapel of New College.

[A.D. 1671, translated to Durham 1674.] NATHANAEL CREWE, Fellow of Lincoln and Dean of Chichester. For a full notice of this bishop, who died in 1721, see DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

[A.D. 1674, translated to London 1675.] HENRY COMPTON, Canon of Christ Church, and Master of St. Cross, near Winchester, was the youngest son of the second Earl of Northampton, killed fighting on the side of the King at Hopton Heath in 1643. As Bishop of London, King Charles appointed him guardian of his nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne; the marriage ceremony for both of whom

* Fuller, Worthies—Oxfordshire.

was afterwards performed by Bishop Compton. During the reign of Charles, Bishop Compton made himself conspicuous by his endeavours to reconcile the Protestant Dissenters to the Church of England, and by his opposition to Rome,—services which were remembered to his disadvantage on the accession of James. A pretext was soon found for suspending him from the discharge of his episcopal functions, to which he was not restored until September, 1688. The Bishop, however, at once joined the party of the Prince of Orange; and was the first, after William's arrival in London, to sign the declaration which had been set on foot at Exeter. He assisted at the coronation of William and Mary; and, until his death in 1713, laboured, but without effect, to bring about the reconciliation of Dissenters with the Church. Bishop Compton was one of the ten Bishops to whom, in conjunction with twenty Anglican divines, a revision of the Book of Common Prayer was entrusted by William III. in 1689. This, it need hardly be said, was never carried into execution^b.

[A.D. 1676—1686.] JOHN FELL, son of Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church, was perhaps the best and most liberal prelate by whom the see of Oxford has till recent days been filled; and may almost be regarded as the second founder of Christ Church. At the age of eleven he was placed on the books of the college as student by his father; and during the siege of Oxford by the Parliamentary troops, he served with the Royalists, devoting himself to the cause of King Charles with not less zeal than his father, who died, it is said, of grief, at his parsonage at Sunningwell, on the same day (Feb. 1) in which he heard the news of the King's execution. The future bishop remained in seclusion until the Restoration, when he was made Prebendary of Chichester and Canon of Christ Church, and in November, 1660, succeeded as Dean. He immediately commenced the im-

^b See the proposed alterations in "Procter's History of the Book of Common Prayer," Appendix, Sect. I.

provement and decoration of his college, towards which he contributed very considerable sums. His father, about 1640, had built the staircase leading to the hall, with its very rich fan-tracery; and had commenced the north side of the great quadrangle. This was now completed, as was the western gateway, the octagonal tower surmounting which was designed by Sir Christopher Wren. In 1680 the famous bell, Great Tom (still, 1880, the largest in England, owing to the failure of the great bell at Westminster), which had been brought from Oseney and hung in the tower of the cathedral, was recast, and placed in this octagon. Parts of the chaplains' quadrangle, and the range of rooms looking towards the Long Walk, and known as "Fell's buildings," were also the work of the Bishop. Many of the best advowsons belonging to the college were bought by him; and by his will he established ten exhibitions for undergraduate commoners. In order that he might superintend the works in the college, he was permitted to retain his deanery *in commendam* after his elevation to the bishopric, in 1676. He rebuilt the palace at Cuddesdon, for which the materials had been collected by Bishop Paul. On his death in 1686, he was interred in Christ Church Cathedral (which he had restored to order, after the troubles of the Rebellion), where his monument bears the following inscription, by Dean Aldrich:—"Desideratissimi Patris pietatem non hoc saxum, sed hæc testentur mœnia; munificentiam, hujus loci ædificia; liberalitatem, alumni; quid in moribus potuit reformandis, hæc ædes; quid in publicis curis sustentandis, *Academia*; quid in propaganda religione, *Ecclesia*; quam feliciter juventutem erudierit, *Procerum familiæ*; quam præclare de republica meruit, tota *Anglia*; quantum de bonis literis, universus *orbis literatus*." This praise was far from being unmerited, according to Antony Wood, who declares that Bishop Fell was "the most zealous man of his time for the Church of England; a great encourager and promoter of learning in

the University, and of all public works belonging thereunto; of great resolution and exemplary charity, of strict integrity, a learned divine, and excellently skilled in the Latin and Greek languages." He was a great patron of Wood, whose "History and Antiquities of Oxford" was translated into Latin at the charge of Bishop Fell, and partly by the Bishop himself. His own most important work is the "Life of Hammond," first printed in 1660.

[A.D. 1686—1687.] SAMUEL PARKER, a 'chamælion' Churchman, who is only distinguished for his share in James II.'s attack on the liberties of Magdalen College. He was educated "among the Puritans at Northampton," and afterwards at Wadham and Trinity Colleges, Oxford, in the latter of which he became alive, after the Restoration, to the superior advantages of conformity. In 1663 he took Orders, and was afterwards much patronised by Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury. As a courtier, his servility procured him the favour of James II., who in 1686 made him Bishop of Oxford, and by a royal mandamus constituted him President of Magdalen. (The well-known story of this intrusion, which need not be detailed here, will be found in Macaulay's "History of England," vol. ii., and in Bloxam's "History of Magdalen College.") Bishop Parker subsequently declared himself prepared to embrace Romanism, and wrote in defence of transubstantiation. He never openly abandoned the English Church, however, and died at Magdalen College, March 20, 1687. He was buried in the chapel.

[A.D. 1688—1690.] TIMOTHY HALL, an obscure person, originally a Nonconformist, raised to the episcopate through the influence of James II., in October, 1688, whilst the Revolution was imminent. He died "miserably poor," in April of the following year.

[A.D. 1690, translated to Lichfield 1699.] JOHN HOUGH, the President of Magdalen, chosen by the Fellows of his College in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had

nominated to the presidency, first Antony Farmer, and then Bishop Parker. Hough was in consequence expelled, together with twenty-five of the Fellows. From Lichfield he was translated to Worcester in 1717. He died in 1743. (See WORCESTER.)

[A.D. 1699, translated to Salisbury in 1715.] WILLIAM TALBOT, Dean of Worcester. In 1721 he was translated to Durham, and died 1730.

[A.D. 1715, translated to Canterbury, 1737.] JOHN POTTER. He died 1747. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1737, translated to Canterbury 1758.] THOMAS SECKER; was translated to Oxford from Bristol. He died 1768. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1758, translated to Salisbury 1766.] JOHN HUME, like his predecessor, had been consecrated to the see of Bristol. He died 1782.

[A.D. 1766, translated to London 1777.] ROBERT LOWTH, translated to Oxford from St. David's, to which he had been consecrated in the same year, 1766.

[A.D. 1777, translated to Hereford 1788.] JOHN BUTLER, died 1802.

[A.D. 1788—1799.] EDWARD SMALLWELL, translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1799, translated to Bangor 1807, and thence to London 1809.] JOHN RANDOLPH, died 1813.

[A.D. 1807—1811.] CHARLES MOSS.

[A.D. 1812—1815.] WILLIAM JACKSON.

[A.D. 1816—1827.] EDWARD LEGGE.

[A.D. 1827—1829.] CHARLES LLOYD.

[A.D. 1829, translated to Bath and Wells 1845; died 1854.] RICHARD BAGOT.

[A.D. 1845—1870.] SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, translated to Winchester 1870; died 1873.

[A.D. 1870.] JOHN FIELDER MACKARNES.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL

FRONTISPIECE.



GENERAL VIEW. FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.



THE ABBOT'S GATE-HOUSE. NOW THE GATEWAY OF THE
BISHOP'S PALACE



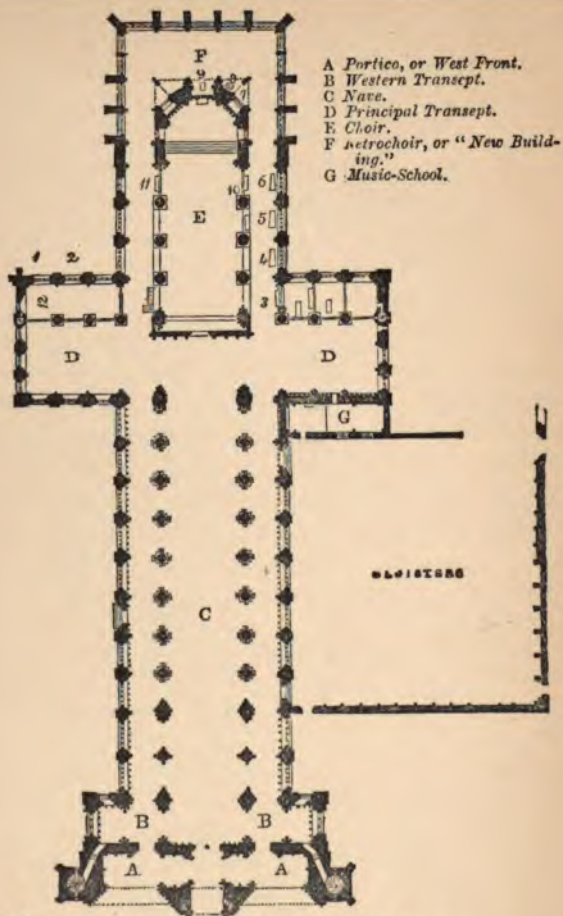
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PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

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- 1, 2. Closed Doors formerly opening into the Lady-chapel.
3. Monument of Abbot Andreu.
- 4, 5, 6. Effigies of Abbots.
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8. Monument of Thomas Deacon.
9. Effigy of an Abbot.
10. Stone marking the original tomb of Mary Queen of Scots.
11. Tomb of Queen Catherine.
12. Early English Capitals of wood removed from the Choir.

GROUND-PLAN, PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL*.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE Cathedral of Peterborough was the conventual church of one of the most important Benedictine abbeys in England, founded towards the middle of the seventh century by Peada, the first Christian King of Mercia. On the dissolution the church was spared, owing, it is said, to its containing the remains of Queen Catherine of Arragon. It became the cathedral of the new diocese, which embraced the counties of Northampton and Rutland. (See Part II. for a full history of these changes.) John Chambers, the last abbot, was created the first Bishop of Peterborough.

II. The dates and architectural character of the principal portions of the cathedral are as follows:—

Choir and eastern aisles of transept (1118—1133, Abbots John of Seez and Martin of Bec), early Norman. *Transept*, and probably a small portion of the *nave*

* It is proper to acknowledge the great use which has been made in the following account of Mr. Paley's "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral." London, George Bell, 1859.

(1155—1177, Abbot William of Waterville), middle Norman.

Nave (1177—1193, Abbot Benedict), late Norman.

Western transept (also, in all probability, part of Abbot Benedict's work), transition Norman.

West front and remains of the Lady-chapel, Early English.

Eastern aisle, or New building (begun 1488, completed 1496—1528, Abbots Ashton and Kirton), Perpendicular.

From the apse of the choir to the west front, therefore, the cathedral affords an excellent example of the gradual changes in style from early Norman to fully developed Early English; whilst the Perpendicular work of the "New building" is of scarcely less value. Peterborough takes the highest place among English cathedrals of the second class, if it may not justly claim a place among those of the first class. It certainly possesses one unique feature,—the grand triple-arched portico of its west front. The entire church is built of Barnack stone,—a close-grained and most durable freestone from the quarries near Stamford, known as the "hills and holes of Barnack," which had been worked from a very early period, and to which Northamptonshire is indebted for the materials of the many fine churches which distinguished the county^b.

^b These quarries became exhausted before the fifteenth century; for in Barnack Church itself, the alterations of that period are in a different stone, and not in the old Barnack stone of which the rest of the church is built.

III. Before entering the Close, the visitor should place himself in front of the singularly picturesque market-house, and remark the view of the west front and the western gateway of the abbey precincts, rising just as they did six hundred years ago above the old 'burgh' or town, which gradually sprang up under the protection of the Benedictines. The buildings group well, although it is to be regretted that no good unimpeded view of the cathedral is to be obtained at this distance.

The *western gate-house* was originally the work of ABBOT BENEDICT (1177—1193), under whom the nave of the cathedral was erected. The Norman vault of the gateway is groined with cross-ribs carrying a roll-moulding similar to the vaulting of the aisles; and a Norman arcade remains on either side, one of the arches of which, north and south, is larger than the rest, and is pierced for a door. The west front has been faced with Decorated work. A fine pointed arch framing the Norman arch behind, and a Perpendicular story above the gate has taken the place of Benedict's chapel of St. Nicholas. The window above the arch on the east side was part of a shrine, the rest of which remains in the cathedral*.

IV. It was at this gateway of "Peterborough the Proud," as the abbey was popularly called, that all visitors, of whatever rank, put off their shoes before

* A plate in Bridges' "Northamptonshire" shews the east front of this gate with an additional story, both being arcaded, and with octagonal corner turrets.

The "Landscape with the Cross" by Enrico Tassinari (1874-1952) is a fine example of the Italian style of the early 20th century. It depicts a landscape with a cross in the foreground, and a small building in the background. The style is characterized by its use of color and light, and its focus on the human figure. The painting is a good example of the Italian style of the early 20th century, and it is a fine example of the Italian style of the early 20th century.

Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1911, 4, 103.

entering the holy precincts; a pilgrimage to which, in certain cases, was regarded as equivalent to a visit to Rome. As he passes beneath the arch, a most striking view of the *west front* of the cathedral breaks upon the visitor. On the left is the chancel of Becket's chapel, founded by Abbot Benedict, and now forming a part of the Grammar-school. On the right hand is the ancient gateway of the abbot's lodgings, now that of the episcopal palace (§ xxv.), and in front, across an open space of greensward, rise the three great arches of the west front, or, strictly speaking, the gigantic west porch, for the two piers are entirely detached, and stand several feet in advance of the actual wall of the west front.

This porch, which is of the purest Early English architecture, dates, in all probability, between the years 1200 and 1222, during which period Acharius and Robert of Lindsey were abbots. It is remarkable that neither of the local chroniclers has recorded the building of it, nor that of the western transept behind it. The work, however, "seems about coeval with the chapter-house at Lincoln, and the west porch at Ely, both of which were built shortly after 1200, and have very florid and elaborate details." . . . "The fineness of the masonry, and the close jointing of the deeply-moulded arch-stones, are unsurpassed by anything of this period in the kingdom^a."

The front [Plate I.] consists of three enormous

^a F. A. Paley, "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral," p. 33.



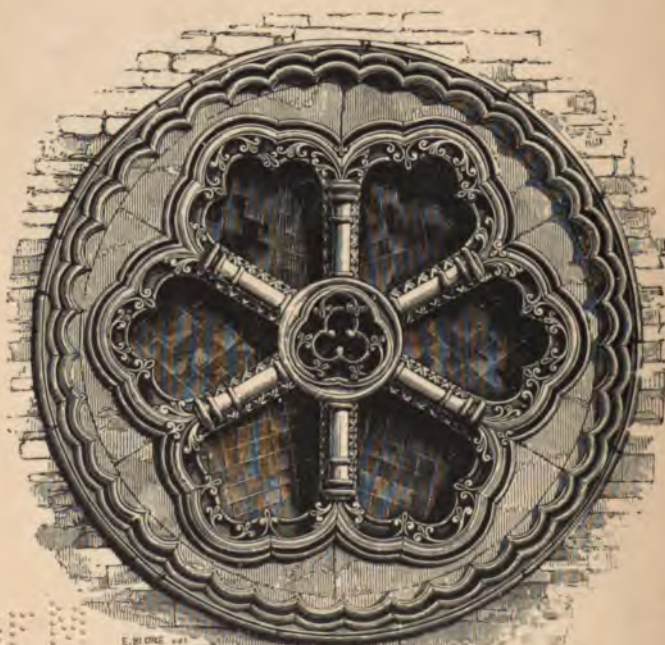
THE WEST FRONT.

Mr. Tol



What





ONE OF THE CIRCULAR WINDOWS OF THE WESTERN GABLES.

arches, eighty-one feet in height, that in the centre being narrower than the other two. The arches are supported by triangular piers, entirely and boldly detached from the west wall. They are faced with banded shafts; and beyond them, north and south, rises a square turret, capped with a spire and pinnacles. The arches themselves support gables, much enriched with arcades and niches, and having in each a circular or 'rose' window. [Plate II.] A turret, terminating in a small spire, rises between the gables. The work of arches, gables, and turrets is entirely Early English; but the spires and pinnacles which terminate the flanking turrets are late Decorated additions. Those of the north turret are much the plainer. The height of the southern spire, which is the loftier, is 156 feet; the width of the west front being exactly the same.

All the details of this front deserve the most careful examination. The capitals and leaf-ornaments of the shafts which line the piers, as well as the mouldings of the arches themselves, are of pure Early English character, and very graceful. The manner in which a clustered shaft ascends in front of the piers and between the arches, and terminates below the square basement supporting the turrets between the gables, should especially be noticed. These turrets are octangular, and in two stages; the upper of which is pierced by narrow lights, bordered by a chevron moulding. The spires which cap them rise slightly above the gables. The gables themselves are of

equal height and width. The very ingenious manner in which they are made to correspond, in spite of the inequality of the three great arches below them, will be seen at once by a comparison of their bases. On each gable is an open cross, that in the centre being the richest. In a niche in the central gable is a mitred figure of St. Peter with the keys. In the corresponding niches north and south are those of St. Paul and St. Andrew; the church having been dedicated to these three saints by the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter (Grostête and Brewere) in 1237, when the west front must have been recently completed*. In the niches on either side of the circular windows are six small figures, said to be those of the six kings of England from the Conquest to the time of the erection of the front. Below, and placed in a most graceful arcade at the base of each gable, are nine figures of apostles, each of which has a circular nimbus. Figures of saints and ecclesiastics, which can no longer be identified, are placed in the spandrils of the great arches. The flanking turrets are enriched with blank arcades, of varying size and details. The spire and pinnacles which crown the south turret are Decorated (*circa* 1360),

* This consecration took place most probably in obedience to a decree of the Council of London (convened in the same year, 1237, by the Cardinal Otho, Legate of Pope Gregory IX.), which ordered that all churches and cathedrals, "not having been consecrated with holy oil, though built of old," should be solemnly dedicated within two years. This consecration in obedience to a general order, is of course no evidence as to the date of the completion of the building; a remark which applies to many other churches consecrated at this period.

and of extreme beauty. Those of the north turret are of less elaborate and much inferior design.

V. Between the central piers of the front, rising to about half their height and slightly projecting beyond them, is a parvise, or porch with an upper chamber, of late Decorated character, and apparently added about 1370. The porch is much enriched, and is in itself a fine composition. It decidedly interferes with the symmetry of the front; but its insertion seems to have been rather a question of necessity than of taste. It was probably erected "as an abutment against the west front, which, by a bulging outwards of the pillars or a settlement of the foundations, was falling forward toward the west. It was, in fact, overweighted by the stone spires and pinnacles of the flanking towers, which those structures, having no proper buttresses, were ill adapted to bear. . . . The construction of this elegant little edifice is extremely scientific, especially in the manner in which the thrust is distributed through the medium of the side turrets, so as to fall upon the buttresses in front. These turrets, being erected against one side of the triangular columns, on the right and the left hand, support them in two directions at once, viz. from collapsing towards each other, and from falling forward. . . . The latter pressure is thrown wholly upon the buttresses in front, which project seven feet beyond the base of the great pillars¹."

The bosses on the vault of the porch should be

¹ F. A. Paley.

noticed. On one of them is an unusual representation of the Trinity—the Father exhibiting the wounded hand of the Son, with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The room above now serves as the Chapter library. The collection, which was mainly formed by Bishop Kennet and his registrar the Rev. Joseph Sparke, contains some valuable examples of early printed books.

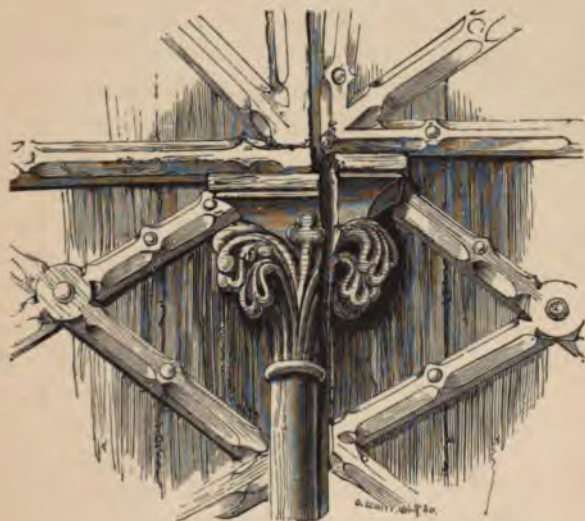
VI. The west wall of the church, within the great arches, is enriched with arcades. In the opening of each arch is a doorway with a window above it, the latter being very late Decorated or Early Perpendicular insertions. The doorways are unusually fine. That in the centre is divided into two arches by a shaft, the base displaying a Benedictine tortured by demons—a perpetual “sermon in stone” for the monks. The wooden doors themselves are original, as is shown by the dog’s-tooth moulding on the interior framework, and the Early English capital in the centre. [Plate III.] An Early English vaulted roof connects the façade with the west wall of the church.

“As a portico,” says Mr. Fergusson, “using the term in its classical sense, the west front of Peterborough is the grandest and finest in Europe; though wanting in the accompaniments which would enable it to rival some of the great façades of Continental cathedrals^c.” There is no similar arrangement on an important scale in England, although on the Continent it is not uncommon, as at Amiens and Chartres^d. No-

^c Handbook of Architecture, p. 869.

^d The large and lofty arches in the (Norman) west front of

WOODEN CAPITALS.



ON THE INSIDE OF THE GREAT WEST DOOR.



IN THE EASTERN AISLE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

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where is the triple entrance to the sanctuary—typical, it is usually considered, of the Holy Trinity—grander, or more emphatically marked. The effects of light and shade produced by the great piers and arches of this “majestick front of columel-work,” as Fuller calls it, are wonderful. The upper portion of the space within them is generally in deep shadow, even at sunset, when the rest of the front is glowing with rosy light: this moment should be watched for by the visitor,—and the effect of a full moon is still more impressive. One arch of the front, which had fallen from the havoc of the Parliamentary soldiers in 1643, was rebuilt by Bishop Laney, and the entire front was repaired and restored before 1830, by Dr. Monk, then Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

VII. On entering the cathedral we find ourselves in the *west transept*, extending across the nave, and projecting one bay beyond the aisle on either side. This transept was an addition to the Norman nave during the period of the great transition of styles, and, like the nave itself, was probably the work of Abbot BENEDICT (1177—1193; see § VIII.). The naves of

Lincoln may possibly have given the original idea to the architect of Peterborough. “I confess that to my eye it has always appeared as a glorious conception, though one not often to be repeated. Had its flanking towers been completed in the same style, the two great towers which backed it up completed with their spires, and the odd little chapel which has been thrust into its central arch been omitted, I know few points to which it would yield in grandeur, and none in originality.”—*Sir G. G. Scott, Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i. p. 191.

the neighbouring cathedrals of Ely and Lincoln terminate in a similar manner; but the west transept of Ely is probably earlier (1174—1189), and that of Lincoln later (1209—1220) than the west transept of Peterborough. The vaulting and arch-mouldings are of transition Norman character, and much enriched. Two lofty well proportioned arches on either side support towers, of which, except one stage of the north tower, no portion above the roofs has been completed. The tall transomed windows of three lights at the north and south ends of this transept, beyond the towers, deserve careful examination. The eastern jambs will be found to be Norman, the western Early English. The tracery is Decorated, with hanging trefoil cusps below the transoms. In the eastern and western walls are lancets, filled with Perpendicular tracery. The Norman clerestory windows above are filled with Perpendicular tracery. The intersecting Norman arcade of the nave aisles was continued round the east walls and north and south ends of this transept, but has been most unhappily chiselled away. The bases remain on both sides, and the shadowy form of the arcade may still be traced on the walls. The western wall is proved to have been a somewhat later addition by the Early English arcade, pierced for three doorways, which runs along it¹. Above each doorway is a window with Perpendicular tracery. A wall-passage runs through their jambs.

¹ This question is fully discussed in Mr. Paley's pamphlet, p. 29.



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THE NAVE, FROM THE WEST END.

The bells, which hang in the north-west tower, are rung from the floor. The restored Early English font is placed under the great south window. In the south wall is a lovely little Decorated piscina. The view up the nave-aisles, with their long perspective of circular vaulting-ribs, is very striking.

VIII. The *nave* [Plate IV.] is throughout Norman, the work of Abbots WATERVILLE and BENEDICT (1155—1193), and a continuation of the choir, which was completed in 1133. Peterborough is one of three Norman cathedrals, the other two being Ely and Norwich, which are separated by no great distances, and may be advantageously compared. Of these the earliest is Norwich (1091—1119), the original design of which has been least interfered with, and which still affords the most perfect example of an early Norman church remaining in England. The nave of Ely, completed in 1174, is nearly contemporary with that of Peterborough, which it greatly resembles. Peterborough, however, retains its Norman choir and apse; and its ground-plan is only second in interest to that of Norwich. The dimensions of the actual nave exceed those of either Ely or Norwich:—

	<i>Peterborough,</i>	<i>Ely,</i>	<i>Norwich,</i>
Length of nave {	(from west transept to western piers of central tower.)	(from western transept to (to the choir screen. octagon.)	
	211 ft.	203.	200.
Width of nave {	35 ft.	34.	28.
(without aisles). }			
Height.	81 ft.	72·9.	72.

The choir of Norwich, however, as was the case at Peterborough before the alterations of 1830, is ex-

tended into the nave, which measures 250 ft. to the central tower; and at Ely the grandeur of the later additions, the great west tower and the octagon, produces an effect to which Peterborough offers no parallel. At Peterborough, however, the design has been less subjected to alteration than in the other two, and it may be pronounced to exhibit the finest Norman interior in England. The view eastward at Peterborough is intercepted by the organ, which is placed over the choir-screen: the windows of the Norman apse, however, are seen beyond it; and the wooden ceiling of the nave, which is probably the original one, gives an especial interest to the interior of this cathedral.

The nave, which consists of ten bays, has massive cylindrical piers, with smaller shafts set against them, and well moulded circular arches^k. The *triforium*, which closely resembles that of Ely, has a wide semicircular arch, with zigzag moulding, embracing two smaller ones, divided by a single shaft. The *clerestory* above has three semicircular arches (of which that in the centre, higher than the rest, springs from slender shafts, set on the capitals of those below), circumscribed by a pointed hood-moulding. The nave, "from the tower to the west front," is expressly said by the

^k The third pier, counting from the east, however, and that in the second bay from the west end, have nook-shafts set in angular recesses against the body of the masonry. The original plan may have been that they should have ranged alternately with the cylindrical, as at Ely. This may have been changed by Benedict.

chroniclers of Peterborough to have been the work of Abbot BENEDICT (1177—1193). It has been suggested, however, that his predecessor, Abbot WATERVILLE, who built the central tower, must necessarily, in order to its safety, have completed some portion of the nave. Mr. Paley has accordingly pointed out some differences which may mark the point of junction between his work and Benedict's. In the third bay from the west, the central column of the triforium arch, "as well as that of the clerestory above it, has its capitals enriched with *Early English* foliage in place of the plain cushion-capital which is elsewhere seen¹. This seems to mark that the Norman work of Benedict is *assimilated*, or imitative, i.e. built in conformity with the rest in a style then becoming obsolete²." Beginning with the fifth pier from the west on the north side, the mouldings of the bases of the piers onwards to the west end are *Early English*, the rest being plain Norman. On the south side this change is made on the west side of the second pier from the west end. In the two easternmost bays, on each side, the tympana of the triforium are hatched, like those of the transepts, whilst all the rest are plain. The courses of stone in the first four piers on each side vary from twenty to twenty-four; those westward, from twenty-five to twenty-seven courses (counted from base to capital exclu-

¹ This change is also to be seen in the jamb shafts of the triforium in the eighth and ninth bays from the west.

² Paley, p. 19.

sively). The hood-mould of the two eastern arches is deeper than the rest; the capitals of the shafts plainer and heavier. The distinction in this direction appears to be sufficiently marked. A more evident change at the west end, first pointed out by Mr. Paley, is thought by him to indicate the termination of Abbot Benedict's work in that direction. "The *third* pillar from the *west* end on each side is considerably larger and wider than any others"—being really a piece of walling rather than a pier—"and it also projects further into the aisles. The arch also, springing from its westward, is of a much greater span. The opposite vaulting-shafts, in the aisle-walls, are brought forward beyond the line of the rest, to meet the pillars in question, so that the arch across the aisles is in this part very much contracted, and instead of being a mere groin-rib, like the rest, is a strong moulded arch, of considerable depth in the soffite. What appears at first sight still more strange, the wall of the aisle opposite to the wider nave-arch just mentioned is brought forward at least a foot internally, but again retires to the old level at the last bay; so that in this particular part the whole thickness of the aisle-wall is considerably greater^a." These peculiarities shew that at this point two Norman towers were originally planned. "The wider nave-arch, with its massive and complex pillars, was the entrance into the tower from each side of the nave. The thicker aisle-wall opposite to it was, in fact, the

^a Paley, p. 12.

tower wall." In the south triforium gallery, also, there is the springing of a transverse arch at this point, evidently the eastern arch of a south-west tower, intended to have been erected there. There is, however, no satisfactory reason for believing these towers to mark the western termination of Abbot Benedict's work. The Chroniclers, Robert Swaffham and Abbot John, (the former of whom was for some years contemporary with Benedict himself), assert expressly that the nave ("a turre usque ad frontem") was constructed by Benedict. The present Early English portico was in existence when they wrote, so that their 'front' can be no other than the western wall of the west transept. Benedict's original design seems in fact to have been changed during the progress of the work. The towers were abandoned, and two more bays were added to the nave, besides the western transept. This was also an afterthought, and is entirely of transitional character, distinct from that of the nave, with the exception of the one capital and of the bases before mentioned, which agree in style with this transept, and the two additional west bays, which approach to it. The capitals of the triforium-shafts and of the main piers in these two bays are worthy of special notice.

The bases of the piers shew that the south side of the nave was built before the north side, to complete the cloister area°.

° The Rev. G. A. Poole, in a most valuable paper—"On the Abbey Church of Peterborough"—read before the Architectural

IX. A single shaft rises from the floor to the roof between the bays of the nave. These shafts formerly supported the rafters of the painted ceiling. When the tower-arches were changed from round to pointed, this remarkable ceiling, which is clearly of the twelfth century, was raised from a flat form to its present shape, flat with sloped sides [Plate V.] It is painted in lozenge-shaped divisions, of which the central and alternate lines on each side contain figures, most of which are seated and represent royal and ecclesiastical personages intermixed with very curious grotesques. These are in colours. The bordering and smaller lozenges are painted in black and white, with narrow red lines. The painting on the upper part of the western and eastern walls, between the present ceiling and the Norman cornice on which it originally rested, is work of the fourteenth century, when the tower arches were altered and the Norman ceiling was raised to fit them. On the western wall there are shields of arms of the fourteenth century, and the character of the painting is quite distinct from that of the ceiling itself. The semicircular shafts which separate the bays of the nave (commonly called vaulting-shafts), are all terminated in the same manner, sloped off at the top to the Norman string-moulding, which forms a

Society of Northampton, in 1855 (and printed in their Transactions), maintains that Benedict was the builder of the entire nave and western transept, in accordance with the statements of the chroniclers. Mr. Paley's view will be found in his "Remarks on the Architecture of Peterborough Cathedral."



PORTION OF THE PAINTED CEILING OF THE NAVE.

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cornice; and on each shaft is a sort of tongue, evidently part of the original design, so that they never had, nor were intended to have, capitals; nor is there any trace of capitals in the walls above the ceiling, as has been rashly asserted; the side-walls are in fact not high enough above the ceiling to admit of them. The original design was evidently intended for a flat painted ceiling, such as was the usual covering of an early Norman nave, and indeed of any wide central space, whether nave, or chancel, or transepts. Examples of this form of ceiling, though of much later date, may be seen at St. Alban's and Romsey Abbey. It has been reproduced by Mr. Burges with good effect at Waltham Abbey. On the Continent there are many examples of flat ceilings of the twelfth century, although we are not aware that any have retained their ancient painting. This remarkably interesting ceiling may therefore be unique.

X. The vaulting of the *side aisles* is Norman, with bold and massive cross-ribs carrying a bowtel. An arcade of intersecting arches runs below the windows, which are Early Decorated insertions. They are unusual in form, of five lights, under a segmental arch, the lights running up the head of the arch with incipient tracery, late in the thirteenth century. The triforium is now lighted by large Decorated windows (*circa* 1360), of three lights. It had originally a steep roof, sloping outward.

In the third bay (from the west) of the south aisle, is the "Abbot's door,"—an Early English doorway

opening into the western walk of the ancient cloister, and corresponding with another door in the south cloister which was that of the Refectory (XXIV.). In the ninth bay is another door which opened into the eastern walk, corresponding with the entrance to the ambulatory which led to the Infirmary. This door is a Norman one, of three orders, and much enriched.

XI. On the north side of the great west door hangs a portrait of "Old Scarlett," the sexton who interred Catherine of Arragon and Queen Mary of Scotland, and who died in 1594, aged ninety-eight. The arms above are those of the see of Peterborough. The inscription runs,—

" You see old Scarleitt's picture stand on hie,
But at your feete here doth his body lye.
His gravestone doth his age and death time show,
His office by thes tokens you may know.
Second to none for strenth and sturдые limm,
A Scarebabe mighty voice with visage grim.
Hee had interd two Queenes within this place
And this townes Householdiers in his lives space
Twice over; But at length his own turn came;
What hee for others did for him the same
Was done: No doubt his soule doth live for aye
In heaven: Tho here his body clad in clay."

The portrait is curious as an example of costume, but is scarcely a fitting ornament for the nave of a cathedral.

XII. The *central tower*, at the intersection of the nave and eastern transept, was originally built by Abbot WATERVILLE (1135—1177), and formed a lantern

of three stages^p, beneath which was placed the choir of the monks, which extended three bays into the nave. It subsequently proved, however, too heavy for the central piers to support; and in order to prevent the fall of the tower (which had actually taken place at Ely and Winchester), it was taken down nearly as far as the crowns of the great arches. The east and west arches were altered from semicircular to pointed; the Norman arches, north and south (which have chevron mouldings) remain. "The pointed hoods inserted above the two round arches mark real arches of construction, devised to remove the weight from the crowns of the latter. The strong courses of masonry for this purpose may be seen from below when the sun shines brightly on the walls^q." The Norman pillars and capitals remain, but have been adapted to the new work. The upper portion and capital of the north-east pier are Decorated. The lantern is Decorated (*circa* 1340?), with two lofty windows on each side, filled with Decorated tracery. Graceful vaulting-shafts of wood, in groups of three, carry the lierne roof, in the central boss of which is the Saviour holding a globe. The wooden vaulting, as well as the lightness of the entire lantern, were no doubt rendered necessary from the mischief which the weight of the Norman tower had already caused to the south-east pier, which is much

^p Mr. Paley suggests that the type of this tower still exists, in the fine central tower at Castor, four miles from Peterborough.

^q F. A. Paley.

crippled, and bound with iron. The great pillars on the east side have, in fact, "settled very considerably on their foundations, dragging down their adjoining triforium and clerestory arches in a remarkable manner."

Against the north-east pier of the lantern has been erected, from the designs of the late Mr. Edward BARRY, a very ornate pulpit in memory of the late Dr. James (died 1878), by the members of his family. It is of red Mansfield stone, supported on polished marble columns, and is much too large and self-asserting for its situation. An oaken eagle lectern stands in the centre.

XIII. The eastern side of both *transepts*, as has been already stated, belong, like the choir, to the earliest part of the church, built by Abbots JOHN OF SEEZ and MARTIN OF BEC (1118—1133). The rest of the transepts is the work of Abbot WATERVILLE (1155—1177). The arrangement of both transepts is the same. Each consists of three bays. The termination of each, north and south, is alike; both having three tiers of semicircular-headed windows (the two upper in the lines of the triforium and clerestory), with a wall-arcade below the lowest tier. A curious bas-relief of very early date, representing two figures between palm-trees (?), inserted in the west wall of the south transept deserves notice. The western wall of both transepts has the same arrangement of windows, except that the clerestory tier resembles that of the nave in having a high central light with a lower arch (forming an arcade passage) on either side. From some

indications,—such as that the lowest tier of windows have the billet-moulding above them, and that the windows show some differences on the two opposite sides in their splaying, and other marks—Mr. Paley infers that the work of the transepts was commenced on the south side, where it was at first executed in imitation of the older work of the choir and eastern transept-aisles, and completed on the north side in rather a plainer manner. The windows throughout the transepts (except those in the eastern aisles) are filled with Perpendicular tracery. Those at each end of the transepts have been partially filled with modern painted glass by Messrs. HEATON AND BUTLER, and GIBBS, which, though it cannot be highly commended, is of great value in subduing the light which formerly flooded the church.

The *eastern aisles* are divided from the transept by massive piers, alternately round and octangular, supporting arches which are slightly stilted. They have plain cushioned capitals. A billet-moulding surrounds each arch, which has a moulded rib in the soffite. The triforium above resembles that in the nave, and has some of the tympana partially hatched. The clerestory is the same as on the west side: vaulting-shafts rise to the roof between the arches: a chevroned stringcourse runs at the foot of the triforium; a plain moulding above it. The 'heaviness' of the masses, and the style of ornamentation (the billet, chevron, and indented or hatched moulding are alone used), sufficiently indicate the early date of these aisles which precisely resemble

the choir in all their details. "It seems to be one continuous piece of work throughout." The difference between this portion and the rest of the transept will be at once recognised by comparing the mouldings of the entrance arches of the choir-aisles with those into the nave-aisles opposite.

The *ceilings* of both transepts are of the same date as that of the nave, which they resemble except in being plainer: they are painted black and white, in lozenges. Unlike the nave ceiling, however, these of the transepts remain in their original position, and have never been raised. They may therefore lay claim to a yet higher antiquity.

XIV. The eastern aisle of the *north transept* is divided from the transept itself by oaken screen-work, of Perpendicular date, but of no very high interest. It contained originally the chapels of St. John and St. James. Some stalls and canopies removed from the choir are placed against the north wall, among which three Early English shafts with gilt capitals supporting Jacobean canopies should especially be noticed [Plate III.]. In Compton Church, Surrey, are some small wooden arches of the same date, which may be compared. The east wall below the windows is hung with tapestry of the sixteenth century,—relics in all probability of hangings which formerly adorned the choir,—representing the delivery of St. Peter from prison, and the healing of the lame man at the gate of the Temple. The windows of this aisle are filled with Perpendicular tracery,—except that nearest to the

choir, which is Geometrical. A Norman doorway in the north wall opens to a staircase leading to the roof. The two closed arches in the northern and central bays on the east side, now containing very late Perpendicular windows, formed the entrance to a very beautiful Lady-chapel of the Early English period (1274), which after the Restoration was demolished for the sake of the materials, in order to repair the great damage which the cathedral had received from Cromwell's troopers[†].

The east aisle of the *south transept* has three Geometrical three-light windows, of the same design as the single one in the opposite transept, the tracery consisting of foliated circles only. This aisle was divided into three chapels, dedicated to St. Oswald, St. Benedict, and St. Kyneburga, by stone partitions

[†] This Lady-chapel must have been a magnificent structure, rivalling that of Ely, which is in the same situation. The lower part of the weather-moulding of the gable of the roof can be seen against the outer wall of this transept, and shews that the chapel was considerably higher than this side wall. A fragment of its external doorway is built into the buttress at the north-eastern corner. The southern bay of the aisle of the transept on the east side has an early Decorated window, like those in the south transept aisle, which shews the pattern of those of the Lady-chapel. There was the width of one bay between the Lady-chapel and the north aisle of the choir, and a groined chantry chapel was erected in the eastern part of this space in the fifteenth century, of which there are traces in the aisle wall. The *piscinā* still exists. Towards the west there was a vestibule to the Lady-chapel, of which the Decorated arches, now built up, remain in the wall of the first and second bay. Above the chantry was a female recluse's cell, with a squint commanding a view of the altar of the Lady-chapel.

of the same date as the aisle itself, one of which has an interesting Norman arcade. Brackets and aumbries belonging to the altars remain in the walls. Similar divisions for chapels exist in the transepts of Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals.

A Decorated doorway in the west wall of this transept opens to a quinquipartite vaulted aisle, of transition Norman character, now used as the choristers' music school. It was anciently known as the "Chapel of the Ostrie,"—a corruption, according to Mr. Paley, of 'hostelry' or guest-house, but certainly a misnomer. It was probably the sacristy, as at Ely.

XV. Though some has been erected in the last few years, the cathedral still suffers from the want of stained glass—always of great service in increasing the effect of Norman architecture. It was richly furnished in this respect, and retained the greater part of its ancient fittings until long after the Reformation; but in 1643 Peterborough was visited by Cromwell himself, on his way to besiege Crowland; and it is probable that no English cathedral was more completely "set to rights," or underwent more wanton destruction at the hands of the Parliamentary troopers. In spite of special orders to "do no injury to the church," they broke open its doors, and proceeded to shatter the windows, to pull down the fittings of the choir, to destroy the organ and the monuments, including those of the two queens, Catherine and Mary, and to break in pieces the superb reredos of carved stone, painted, gilt, and inlaid with plates of silver. The narrative in the

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Mercurius Rusticus asserts, that "one of the soldiers having charged his musket to shatter down the four Evangelists, in the roof, above the Communion-table, by the rebound of his own shot was struck blind." The cloisters were then pulled completely down (the windows had been filled with stained glass of unusual beauty), and, with the exception of the original charter of foundation, and the Chronicle known as "Swap-ham," the charters and evidences belonging to the cathedral were burnt or destroyed. The soldiers appropriated such rich church vestments as they could find; and until their departure they were daily exercised by their officers in the nave of the cathedral.

XVI. This unusual havoc will account for the present condition of the *choir*; all the ancient furniture of which has disappeared. Before the restoration set on foot by Dean Monk, the ritual choir was underneath the lantern, as at Chichester and Gloucester, and formerly at Hereford and Ely, and the organ-screen enclosed the first bay of the nave. There was a second screen, as at Norwich, one bay further west. The heavy *organ-screen*, of white stone, was executed under the direction of Dean Monk, before 1830; and the stalls and woodwork are also of this date: the whole designed by the late Mr. BLORE. If they fail to please, allowance should be made for the period when the work was done. Much credit is due to Dean Monk for originating a movement and forming a school of workmen which soon improved, and led the way to what has followed in other cathedrals. At the west

end under the organ there are four box-stalls on either side, surmounted with canopies. The three arches to the north and south are filled with private box-pews, with tabernacle-work above entirely hiding the massive piers. In front of these a row of stalls has been added. Below these are three tiers of carved pews and benches with poppyheads. Above are pewed galleries blocking up the arches. The choir, as far as the apse, is of four bays; its massive piers being entirely hidden by the tabernacle-work of the stalls. The arrangement and details of triforium and clerestory resemble those of the eastern transept-aisles. The piers, however, which alternate with the round ones, are ten and twelve-sided instead of octangular. The triforium exhibits two sub-arches, supported by a tall slender column, within a circumscribing arch of two orders, all much enriched. The tympanum of the two first bays from the east are pierced with one and four circular holes respectively. The tympana of all the others, except the easternmost to the south, are hatched. The proportions of the triforium are unpleasing, the central shaft being too lofty, which causes the sub-arches to intrude too much on the tympanum. The choir was the recorded work of the two Abbots, JOHN OF SEEZ (1118—1125), and MARTIN OF BEC 1133—1125); the intervening Abbot, HENRY OF ANJOU (1127—1133), did nothing for it. "He lived," says the Saxon Chronicle, "even as a drone in a hive. As the drone eateth and draggeth forward to himself all that is brought near, even so did he. He did there no good,

neither did he leave any there." It is probable that little more than the foundations were completed by John of Seez.

The *apse*, or eastern end of the choir, notwithstanding the changes which have been made, in order to connect it with the New Building beyond, still remains a very fine example of a Norman termination. It should be compared with the slightly earlier eastern apse of Norwich (the work of HERBERT LOSINGA, died 1119). A Norman arch, of which only the pillars remain, now ending above the capitals in niches, originally divided the apse from the choir. A modern screen, of Decorated character, richly diapered in gold and colour, extends round the apse. Above the level of this screen were originally three tiers of Norman windows, five in each tier. The three central windows of the lowest tier are fringed with flamboyant hanging with tracery, *c.* 1360, and look into the New Building; portions of the roof, and the stained window (to the memory of Bishop Davys, by HEATON AND BUTLER) at the extreme eastern end being visible through them. The whole series is set in rich ogee canopied arches, under square hood-moulds. The two side-windows of this tier also contain flamboyant tracery, which remains perfect, and shews the grooves for the glass which once filled them. The triforium openings, in the second tier, whilst they retain their circular headings, are, like the clerestory windows above them, filled with tracery of flamboyant character, which was no doubt inserted at the same time. An inter-

secting Norman arcade is seen below the triforium window range, at the back of the wall-passage in which they are set. All these windows are filled with stained glass, most of which is modern and far from good; that in the central window of each tier contains ancient fragments collected from different parts of the church, by Dean Tarrant, 1764—1791. Norman pilasters run up between the windows. The slight depression in the arches of the three central openings in each tier should be noticed.

The flat roof of the apse, like the eastern screen, has been excellently decorated from the designs of the late Sir G. G. Scott. In the centre is the Saviour in majesty; surrounding Him, in medallions placed among the branches of the vine on the pale-blue ground of the ceiling, are half-figures of the Apostles. The whole bordered by an inscription: "I am the Vine," &c. This design reproduces that which originally formed the decoration of the ceiling above the high altar, which was destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers, April 22, 1643.

The roof of the choir dates apparently from the close of the fifteenth century. It is of wood, with carved bosses. The whole has been coloured, the bosses gilt, and medallions containing angels painted between the groining-ribs. Whatever may be age of this roof, "it seems to indicate that the choir was not covered with a flat ceiling, like the nave and transepts, but probably with an open timber roof, something like the nave of Ely Cathedral. Had there been a flat ceiling,

it would surely have been retained for the sake of uniformity'."

ÆLFRIC (died 1051) and KINSI (died 1060), Archbishops of York, were buried on the south side of the choir. The latter had been a monk of Peterborough.

XVII. The *South choir-aisle*, which we enter from the transept, is of the same date as the choir itself. This aisle, and the corresponding aisle on the north side, are much disfigured by the heavy wooden galleries above the choir-stalls, with their arched supports staircases and gangways. The windows are early Decorated, of the same date and character as those in the nave. An intersecting Norman arcade, plainly moulded, lines the wall beneath them. (It may be here remarked, that among the differences to be noted between the choir and the transepts is the distinction of their wall-arcades; that of the choir-aisles being intersecting, that of the transepts single.) The vaulting is the same as that of the eastern transept-aisles.

At the west end of the aisle, under a heavy Norman arch enriched with billet-moulding, is an effigy attributed to Abbot ANDREW (1193—1200). He treads on a dragon, the mouth of which is pierced by his staff; in his left hand he holds a book. Remark the rich 'apparel' ornamenting his outer robe. The book, which is usually placed in the hands of Benedictine abbots, is supposed to represent the statutes of their Order. The difference between an abbatial and episcopal staff should also be noticed. The bishop's is

generally much enriched, and turned to the right, or outwards, indicating an external jurisdiction; the abbot's plain, and turned to the left, or inwards, denoting a domestic rule. On the wall above the effigy are the following lines:—

“Hos tres Abbates quibus est prior Abba Johannes,
Alter Martinus, Andreas ultimus, unus
Hic claudit tumulus. Pro clausis ergo rogemus.”

Three more effigies of early Abbots [Plate VI.], said to have been brought from the chapter-house, are placed under the south wall of this aisle. All hold a book. The two easternmost (the last of which is a good example) are of early Decorated character. Another much shattered effigy is placed under the wall of the choir.

A plain black marble slab, without the south door of the choir in the last bay, marks the tomb in which the remains of *Mary Queen of Scots* rested until their removal to Westminster. The execution of the Queen took place on February 8, 158 $\frac{1}{2}$; but it was not until July 30, 1587, that her body was brought from Fotheringay to Peterborough for interment. It was conveyed by torchlight, in a ‘chariot’ covered with black cloth, and was met at the entrance of the cathedral by Bishop Howland, who conducted it in solemn procession to the vault prepared for it, in which it was immediately laid. On the following day a funeral service was performed, the Countess of Bedford being chief mourner. The Bishop of Lincoln preached; and the heralds broke their staves, and cast them into the vault. Twenty-five years afterwards the



D. 1611. 1. 12.

EFFIGY OF ONE OF THE EARLY ABBOTS, IN THE SOUTH
AISLE OF THE CHOIR.

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THE RETRO-CHOIR, OR "NEW BUILDING"

body, at the request of James I., was removed to Westminster, under the care of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was interred where it now lies, Oct. 11, 1612. A lofty 'herse,' hung with black velvet, was erected over Queen Mary's resting-place at Peterborough, and was removed, with the body, to Westminster. John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop of Peterborough, was interred in this aisle, near the grave of Queen Mary.

The extreme eastern bay of this and of the opposite aisle is Early English, and has slender vaulting-shafts, with a leafed boss in the centre of the roof. In the south wall of each is a good double piscina of the same design with that in the south-west transept. The two bays thus formed chapels at the ends of the choir-aisles; the original Norman terminations of which, according to Mr. Paley, were square, and not apsidal.

XVIII. The so-called *New Building* [Plate VII.], which now forms the eastern end of the cathedral, was commenced by Abbot ASHTON in 1438, but not completed until the time of Abbot KIRTON (1496—1528). It was formerly shut off from the church and used as the library. It is entered from the choir-aisle, through an arch with square ornaments, characteristic of Perpendicular work, in the hollow of the moulding. The Tudor rose, the pomegranate of Catherine of Arragon, the fleur-de-lys, the rebus of Abbot KIRTON (a 'kirk'

* The King's autograph letter remains in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

on a tun), and some armorial bearings, appear among these ornaments.

The New Building itself—the view across which, beyond the arch, is a fine one—is a long parallelogram of five bays, and forms, in effect, a third transept, extending across the eastern end of the church. A similar eastern transept existed at Fountains Abbey, and still remains at Durham, where the “Chapel of the Nine Altars,” as it is called, was the work of Bishop POORE (1228—1241). This transept was probably erected to furnish additional altar space. But of the altars it contained and of their accessories no traces remain. In almost all its details—groined roof, windows, exterior battlement, and buttresses—this building so closely resembles King’s College Chapel at Cambridge, that, it has been suggested, “the same master-mind would seem to have conceived both.” The beautiful fan-tracery of the roof should especially be noticed. The late Professor Willis considered “the workmanship of this vault the most perfect of any that he had examined” [*The Vaults of the Middle Ages*, p. 43]. The arms on the bosses are those of England, Edward the Confessor, and Peterborough. The windows were originally filled with very fine stained glass, which was destroyed in 1643. The

* King’s College Chapel was in building at the same time as this transept, and, as at Peterborough, the work was stopped for some time after its commencement. The foundations were laid in 1446: (at Peterborough, in 1438). After a long interval the building was recommenced in 1479, and completed about 1532: (Peterborough recommenced in 1496, and was completed in 1528).

central east window has been recently filled with glass to the memory of Bishop Davys by his son-in-law Canon Argles, from the designs of Messrs. HEATON AND BUTLER, and the southernmost window to that of Dean Butler, by Messrs. CLAYTON AND BELL.

The manner in which the Norman choir-apse is squared, so as to adapt it the New Building, should be remarked. The Norman shafts and Norman wall of the apse remain; and at the side of the entrance-arches these shafts are fitted with Perpendicular capitals. Portions of the Norman stringcourse, much weather-worn (for it must be remembered that before the erection of the New Building the apse was uninclosed), may also be observed—as well as the Flamboyant tracery still remaining in the two windows, north and south. “The body of the aperture in the three easternmost is left open, and continued down to the ground in the form of lofty archways, though the lower parts are now blocked by the modern altar-screen, as they were formerly by steps leading from the back of the high altar. The marks of these steps may yet be seen in the south-eastern archway, within the chapel, as well as the hinges of folding-doors, by which the retro-choir, or space behind the high altar, was enclosed*.”

* Paley. “We have now gradually built up what may well be called a noble minster, and a glance at the plan thus completed will shew a Latin cross, the feet resting on two steps, and the head terminating originally in an apse, to which, however, a transept yet farther east has been added. Here, then, we have a cross of that form which is commonly found in old re-

XIX. On entering the New Building from the south aisle, a much shattered Jacobean monument will be seen in the wall to the left hand. This is that erected during his own lifetime by Sir Humphrey Orm for himself and his family. Before Sir Humphrey's death his monument was reduced by Cromwell's troopers to its present condition. Under the first arch at the back of the apse is a small monument of considerable interest. [Plate VIII.] This was long supposed to be the stone erected by Godric, Abbot of Crowland, over the monks of Medeshamstede (the ancient name of Peterborough), who, with their abbot, Hedda, were slaughtered by the Danes in 870. They had already destroyed Crowland, and were assaulting Medeshamstede, when the brother of the Danish Jarl, presentations of the Rood, where the figure of the Crucified is attended by the Blessed Virgin and the Beloved Disciple, kneeling one on either side, on a step at the foot of the cross, while the inscription over the head appears on a scroll crossing the upper part of the tree. . . . We have, then, in the ground-plan of Peterborough the highest and most completely developed symbolism of the doctrine of the Cross, of which a Christian Church is capable. . . . I would rather suggest than assert, that the upper step of the two, which is found in all churches with a western transept only, as Wells, for instance, and Peterborough before the addition of the façade, is fairly to be assigned to the two sainted witnesses of our Lord's death; and that the yet lower step is to be assigned to the approach of the disciples generally. . . . And in the lowest place even, of this lower step, is well placed the galilee, the porch of penitents, and the court where their penance was to be awarded."—*Rev. G. A. Poole, "On the Abbey Church of Peterborough"* (in the Transactions of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton).



THE SO-CALLED MONUMENT OF ABBOT HEDDA AND HIS MONKS.

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Hubba, was killed by a stone thrown from the walls. In revenge, after an entrance had been forced, the Jarl, with his own hand, slew the Abbot and all the surviving monks. The abbey was plundered and burnt. After the Danes had left the country, a few of the Crowland monks returned to their ruined monastery, and chose Godric for their abbot. Having arranged his own community as far as possible, he visited Medeshamstede, where he collected the mangled bodies of the monks,—eighty-four in number, says the pseudo-Ingulphus—and interred them in one large grave, over which he raised “a pyramidal stone, three feet high, three feet long, and one foot broad, on which were cut the images of the deceased abbot and his monks.” Every remaining year of his life, it is said, Godric paid a visit to this stone, and pitched a tent over it, in which he said masses during two days, for the repose of those buried beneath.

This story, it should be remarked, rests solely on the spurious narrative of Ingulphus, the Chronicler of Crowland; and although the tomb agrees very closely with the measurements given above, it was demonstrated by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Peterborough in 1861, that it is work of the early part of the twelfth century. It is a mass either of Purbeck, or of a somewhat similar marble, full of minute shells. Large holes have been bored in it, three on one side, and two on the other, probably for the purpose of fixing candlesticks. On either of the upright sides are six much-worn figures,

the details of which it is very difficult to distinguish. All have the nimbus—a plain circular beading round the heads of all, except one of the figures on the east side, which has the cruciform nimbus distinctive of our Lord, indicated by double lines proceeding from the head to the exterior beading. The hair of a figure on the west side is arrayed in rays, or semicircles. The dress of all is alike,—a long robe with a shorter sleeved vestment over it. The emblems they carry seem to vary; most have books; some bear palm-branches. All are under a circular arcade, with a kind of double leaf-ornament springing from the intersections. The sloping top of the stone is divided into four partitions, with rude sculpture of leafage and birds, one of which may perhaps represent a peacock, a favourite emblem of the Resurrection. Circles and knots of intersected lines mark the early character of the whole work. The two ends are plain, except that on the south side the date 870 has been carved in modern Arabic numerals.

This monument at all events deserves the most careful attention. The figures are in all probability those of our Saviour and His Apostles, who are usually represented as carrying books; although the dress is that of the twelfth century. It is not impossible, however, that the monument (which may in reality be that of an early abbot) is the actual stone described by the pseudo-Ingulphus, whose narrative has been proved to be a composition of much later date.

XX. On the adjoining wall is the monument of

THOMAS DEACON (died 1721), founder of a charity-school at Peterborough, and in many other ways a benefactor to the city. He reclines on the summit of his sarcophagus, attired in a Ramillies wig, and resting one hand on a skull, whilst with the other he points to the record of his virtues behind him. The effigy of an abbot, of Early English date, is placed in the recess behind the altar, and on the wall above are tablets commemorating Bishops HINCHCLIFFE (died 1794), MADAN (died 1813), MARSH (died 1839), and DAVYS (died 1864), whose graves below are marked by monumental slabs. The hanging tracery of the arch above exhibits in the centre a concave socket, intended to receive the apex of the great crucifix, to keep it in its place. On the adjoining wall to the north is the monument of Bishop CUMBERLAND (died 1718). Bishop Cumberland's volume, *De legibus Naturæ disquisitio philosophica*—a refutation of Hobbes—is thus referred to in the inscription on this monument:—

“Macte, malæ fraudis domitor, defensor honesti
Legum Naturæ, justitiæque pugil.
O quantum debent, quas læserat Hobbius, ambas,
Recta simul Ratio, Religioque, tibi!”

The lines are from a poetical address to the Bishop by Duport, dean of Peterborough (died 1679), whose own monument remains on the wall of the north choir-aisle, beneath the second window. The epitaph of Dean Duport (who was Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge) is couched in the most exaggerated terms of panegyric: “Græca poesi si

non supra Homerum, saltem pari incedens gradu . . . quem ut alterum plane Homerum, quatuor vindicant Collegia."

Under the north window-opening of the apse is a monument formed of fragments of various dates, which seem to have been arranged at a very late period as a memorial of some unknown person. The Perpendicular portions belonged to a shrine which contained relics of St. Ebba,—part of which now serves as a window in the gatehouse (§ III.). St. Ebba was the instructress of St. Etheldreda of Ely and the sister of St. Oswald of Northumbria, whose arm was one of the greatest treasures of Peterborough. (See Part II.)

XXI. The *north choir-aisle* resembles the south; the first bay forming an Early English chapel, with a piscina in the south wall. The two westernmost bays, now blocked, opened into the Lady-chapel. In the next bay one of the original Norman windows has been preserved—filled during the present century with Perpendicular tracery. It overlooks a slab of blue stone, close to the north choir-door, beneath which still rest the remains of QUEEN CATHERINE OF ARRAGON. We may appropriate the words of Mr. Paley, in contemplating "the humble grave of one to whose existence, though it may be but incidentally, this nation owes the greatest change that ever was brought about in it, and upon the accident of whose burial here depended the preservation of this fine abbey and its conversion into a cathedral church. There is no monument in England that can fairly be called more deeply interesting than

this one, though few, indeed, of those who daily trample on it, and are fast obliterating the simple words, 'Queen Catherine, A.D. 1536,' appear to entertain a thought about it. Not one in five hundred, we dare aver, recalls her dying words in Shakespeare's 'King Henry VIII. :—

'When I am dead

Let me be used with honour: strew me o'er
With maiden flowers, that all the world may know
I was a chaste wife to my grave: embalm me,
Then lay me forth: although unqueened, yet still
A queen, and daughter to a King, inter me.'"

Many banners, with heraldic devices and royal achievements, hung above this tomb; and a lofty herse, covered with a black velvet pall marked with a cross of silver tissue, and enriched on the sides with the arms and badges of Arragon, remained on it until the destruction wrought by Cromwell's soldiers. Queen Catherine, the closing scene of whose life it is scarcely possible to imagine otherwise than as Shakespeare has painted it, died at Kimbolton Castle, in Huntingdonshire, Jan. 8, 1535, and was interred in this aisle with much of the state befitting "a queen, and daughter to a king."

XXII. Passing out of the cathedral we enter the churchyard on its north side; the gateway into which has, close adjoining it, a battlemented arch of entrance to the Deanery—built by Abbot KIRTON, who completed the New Building. The same arms and emblems appear on it as on the bosses and ornaments of his work in the

cathedral. His rebus—a church on a tun—is placed over the smaller door. The quiet beauty of the churchyard, well kept and judiciously planted, will at once attract the visitor. An excellent view of the exterior of the cathedral is obtained from it; the best general point being towards the north-east angle [*Frontispiece*], where the rich Perpendicular New Building, the Norman apse towering above it, and the many lines of towers and spires group most picturesquely, and are well contrasted by the surrounding foliage.

The group formed by the north-west transept, with its tower and gable, and the north spire of the west front, should be noticed soon after entering the churchyard. The transept-gables are Early English, of the same date and character as the west front, and of great beauty. The first stage of the north transept-tower above the roof is transition Norman, of the same date as the transept; the upper stage and pinnacles are Early English, but of later date than the west front. It was formerly crowned with a spire of timber and lead, the work of Abbot RICHARD OF LONDON, while still prior, about 1270, which was taken down before 1800.

The windows of the nave-aisles (Early Decorated, § x.), triforium (Decorated, § xvi.), and clerestory (Perpendicular, § xvi.), may here be well observed. Flat, pilaster-like buttresses run up between each bay—Norman as high as the stringcourse above the aisle windows, and Decorated above. The upper part may have been added when the aisle walls were raised. In the fourth bay a very rich Norman archway marks

the "Prior's Door." The Norman arcade above the aisle windows shews the arrangement of the old triforium, which is seen more perfectly on the east wall of the north transept. The parapet above the clerestory is a late Decorated addition.

The north front of the main transept deserves notice, since it contains the original Norman window-openings filled with Perpendicular tracery. On the eastern side, the door leading into the Lady-chapel (now destroyed) remains, and the two arches which opened into the space between it and the church (see note p. 99), in the wall of the north choir-aisle. (§ xiv.)

XXIII. The exterior of the eastern apse is much enriched, and very striking. Buttress-turrets, capped with spires, rise at its junction with the choir. An intersecting arcade passes round below the upper tier of windows; and in the parapet above, which is an addition of the early Decorated period, are circular medallions, enclosing trefoils, from which half emerge figures of kings and ecclesiastics. The manner in which the Norman windows were enlarged and altered (§ xvi.) is well seen here.

The *New Building* has very massive, plain buttresses between each bay, on each of which, as in the apse of Norwich, is placed the sitting figure of an apostle, with our Lord holding an orb in the centre. A rich and graceful parapet fills the space between. This has suffered much from time and decay; but the initials (R. A.—Richard Ashton, and R. K.—Robert

Kirton) and devices (an ash-tree on a tun and a church on a tun) of the builders, may still be traced on it and on the buttresses. On the parapet are also the alternate monograms (I.H.C. and M. (Jesus and Mary)); and the stringcourse over the east window has the name Karton (Kirton). On that of a window on the south side, it is spelt backwards—Notrak.

The *central tower*, as has already been said, dates about 1340. It has two windows on each side, with a blind arcade of rich tracery between and beyond them. At the angles are octagonal turrets. The tower was originally surmounted by a wooden octagon, "which perhaps bore, or was intended to bear, a timber spire, covered with lead^{*}." The octagon was removed by Dr. Kipling (who became Dean of Peterborough in 1798). The turrets, which rise above the tower, were added at this time, and were evidently imitated from those (Norman with a later battlement) at the end of the great transept.

XXIV. A passage leads, west, to the Laurel Court, the site of the *cloister* destroyed, as has already been mentioned, by Cromwell's troopers in 1643. The original Norman cloister was remodelled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the southern and western walls being left standing. A Norman arch remains in the western wall; the "cheese moulding" of which indicates its very early date. Dedication crosses will be observed on its jambs.

The southern wall of the cloister shews thirteen

^{*} Paley.

divisions. Two of these correspond to the extremities of the eastern and western walks, so that there were eleven window-spaces opening into the cloister garth. The eastern part of the wall is Early English and of excellent design. The first and last bays contain doorways of remarkable beauty. The westernmost, opening into the Refectory, has a segmental door-arch with a very rich hollow moulding of foliage, under a pointed arch, the tympanum between the two containing an open quatrefoil set between foliage and lacertine animals. The easternmost, giving access to the Dark Cloister, has a segmental head under a pointed arch, also with a quatrefoil in the tympanum. The Early English design, with blank arches, remains in the five easternmost bays; but in the five further to the west very rich Perpendicular lavatories, which may be compared with those at Gloucester, and deep panelled recesses have been built in front of the earlier wall.

Traces of the Early English *refectory*, which stretched along the whole side of the cloister, measuring 162 feet by 42 feet, with the arcading and aumbries of the north wall, are to be seen in the garden of the palace. The site of the *chapter-house*, on the east side of the cloister court is occupied by an ugly modern house. Between it and the south transept lay the *slupe* and the *parlour*. Leaving the Laurel Court at the south-east corner, the visitor will notice the traces of the half columns and vaulting of the *dark cloister* of two dates, running southward to the *infirmary*. To the east (the left hand) was the site

of the *dormitory*. Passing along the road further eastwards, we reach the remains of the Early English *infirmary*, built by Abbot JOHN DE CALETO (1248-1261). This building, which should be compared with those of earlier date at Ely and Canterbury and the fragment existing at Norwich, followed the ordinary type of a nave with side aisles, constituting the hall and cubicles of the sick monks, and a projecting chancel which formed the chapel. This arrangement enabled the invalids to hear divine service, and even see the sacred mysteries, as they lay on their beds or couches. The beautifully-proportioned arches of the nave, originally of ten bays, remain, partly built into modern houses. Further east the Infirmary Chapel, dedicated to St. Lawrence, is converted into a canonical house. The triple chancel arch, now blocked, deserves notice. Attached to it, at the north-east corner, is a very interesting Early English house, which has been well restored. The portion at the west end may have been the infirmarer's "table-hall." To the south of the Infirmary the north wall of an Early English building, now transformed into a canonical house, marks the site of what has been variously designated as the cellarer's lodgings, or the "Deportum," or "Hall of Disport."

XXV. Returning to the Close, before the west front, the *abbot's gate-house* [*Title-page*], on the south side, leading to what was once the abbot's residence, and is now the episcopal palace, should be especially noticed. The arrangement of this gate-house is very remarkable.

It is of three vaulted bays in depth, the inner bay being separated from the outer part by a transverse wall, containing a large arch of entrance and a postern. The external bays are of the whole width. It is of Early Decorated character, A.D. 1319 (when a licence was granted to crenellate "a gateway and two chambers"), with a groined roof springing from clustered shafts; an arcade lines its interior walls; at the angles are square turrets, in each of which is a niche containing a figure; a third figure is placed in the gable. The arrangement on either side of this gateway is the same. The statues on the north side are those of King Edward II., Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, and the prior of the abbey, wearing the Benedictine habit. On the south side are St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, the three saints to whom the church was originally dedicated. Above the gateway is a room called the Knights' Chamber, in which guests of distinguished rank were lodged: the windows of this room are later than the gateway itself.

The *bishop's palace*, though chiefly modern, contains a fine vaulted under-crypt, supported on pillars, *circ.* 1226, and two oriels of the chamber known as "Heaven's Gate Chamber," built by Abbot Kirton (1496-1528), and bearing his rebus.

The *deanery* was the residence of the Prior, and retains some considerable portions of a hall of the thirteenth century, and an elaborately enriched gateway, also bearing Abbot Kirton's rebus.

North of the main gateway, leading into the Close,

is the chancel of a chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, originally founded by Abbots Wm. Waterville and Benedict,—the latter of whom had been a monk of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder, of which he wrote a narrative². The nave was pulled down by Abbot Genge, to build St. John's Church, 1405. The chancel, which now serves as the Grammar-school, is very late Decorated. The beautiful reticulated tracery of the east window deserves notice, as does the pierced cross on the gable above it. Beyond it to the north are the new buildings of the grammar-school, fairly appropriate in style.

On the north side of the cathedral is a singular earthen mound, known as the "Toot-hill³," said to have

² After Benedict had been appointed Abbot of Peterborough, in 1176, "finding the great establishment almost entirely destitute of relics, he returned to his own cathedral, and carried off with him the flag-stones immediately surrounding the sacred spot (of Becket's murder)—with which he formed two altars in the conventual church of his new appointment—besides two vases of blood, and parts of Becket's clothing."—*Stanley's Historical Memorials of Canterbury*; from *Robert of Swaffham*.

³ At Caernarvon, an eminence outside the town, commanding an extensive view, is known as the "Twt-Hill." "Tote-Hill" is a mediæval word for a beacon or look-out station, derived from the verb to "tote" or "tout," to look or peep, connected probably with the A.-S. *totian*, to project. In 'Piers Ploughman's Creed,' we read

"Than *toted* I in at a tavern, and there I aspyde
Two frere Carmes."

A "touter" is one who looks out for custom. Its use in our early language is evidenced by the following passages from Wycliffe's Bible:—Is. xxi. 5, "Sett the bord, bihold in a

been the site of a tower built by Turolde, the first Norman Abbot, for the defence of his monastery. Similar mounds are found attached to Norman fortresses (as at Canterbury and Oxford). There is one also of a like character adjacent to the great gate of Ely Cathedral. The name of that attached to Westminster Abbey is still preserved in "Tothill Fields."

toothill," alias, "Biholde thou in to a *toting* place:" v. 6, "Go and put a *tootere*," alias, "Go thou and sette a lookere:" v. 8, "Up on the *toothill* of the Lord I am stondende contynuelly bi day;" alias, "I stonde contynueli bi dai on the *totyng* place of the Lord;" Jer. xxxi. 21, "Ordeyne to thee a *toting* place."

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE great Benedictine monastery of Peterborough, which became one of the wealthiest and most important in England, was founded, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 655, by King Oswi of Northumbria, and Peada, son of Penda, King of Mercia. Penda, one of the last and fiercest of the Saxon pagan chieftains, was defeated and killed in November of the same year in a great battle with Oswi, on the river Aire in Yorkshire. Oswi succeeded to the power of the Mercian king, but gave the province of the Southern Mercians to Peada, son of Penda, who about three years before had embraced Christianity, and had married Alhflède, daughter of Oswi. Peada was murdered during the Easter festival of the following year, (656); but between that time and the previous November, Diuma, one of four Christian priests carried back into Mercia by Peada after his own conversion, had been consecrated Bishop of the Middle Anglians and Mercians by Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne; and the two princes, Oswi and Peada, had, in the words of the chronicler, "come together, and said they would rear a minster to the glory of Christ, and the honour of St. Peter." This was Peterborough, the first monastic establishment, and (with the exception perhaps of Lichfield, the seat of the Mercian bishopric) the first resting-place of Christianity in central England.

The site chosen for the new monastery was at a place called Medeshamstede, 'the meadow homestead,' in North Gyrwa-land (*gyr*, A.-S. 'a fen'), one of the many districts tributary to the main kingdom of Mercia, and which must have been specially dependent on the province of the Southern Mercians assigned by Oswi to Peada. The foundations were laid on a rising ground above the river Nen, overlooking a wide extent of fen-country on one side, and a rich district of woods and meadows on the other. The work was commenced in the presence of Peada and Oswi, who, in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "began the ground wall and wrought thereon." It was then entrusted to a monk named Saxulf. Three years afterwards, the Mercians threw off the rule of Oswi, reasserted their independence, and set up Wulfere, brother of Peada, and a younger son of Penda, as their king. Wulfere was a Christian, and greatly favoured the rising monastery at Medeshamstede; which on its completion is said to have been "hallowed in the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew" by Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ithamar, Bishop of Rochester, and many other bishops, in the presence of Wulfere and his brother Ethelred. Of its consecration, about 657 A.D., there is no doubt, and it was probably performed by Deusdedit, but all the details are unhistorical, and rest on authorities not earlier than the 12th century. Saxulf became the first abbot, and continued to preside over the monastery he had built ("Abbas et constructor," he is called by Bede), until in 675 he was consecrated to the see of Mercia by Archbishop Theodore. Wulfere's charter of foundation is an undoubted forgery, and the confirmation by Pope Vitalian appended to it has no pretensions to genuineness. The pretended bull of Pope Agatho is also a shameless forgery. By it the abbot of Medeshamstede took precedence of all others north of the Thames; he was constituted legate of Rome over the whole of England, and "if any Briton had a desire to visit

Rome, and could not by reason of its distance," he might repair to this monastery, there offer up his vows, and receive absolution and the apostolical benediction.

Medeshamstede was flourishing, and, if the story told in the chronicle of the Pseudo-Ingulph contains historical elements, sheltered a brotherhood of eighty monks, when it was attacked and destroyed by the Danes under Hubba, in the year 870, as has already been related. (Pt. I. § XIX.) It remained in ruins until about 966, when Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, as distinguished a 'constructor' or architect under King Edgar, as his successor, William of Wykeham, was under Edward III., caused it to be rebuilt, together with many other religious houses which had been destroyed by the Northmen. It was henceforth—probably from being surrounded with a wall of defence—called *Burgh*, "a similitudine urbis," says William of Malmesbury. The name of 'Gildenburgh' was sometimes given to it, from a part of the minster-roofs having been gilt by Abbot Leofric; but it finally took and kept that by which it is at present known, Peterburgh, from the dedication of its great church to St. Peter.

Numerous relics, including the incorruptible arm of St. Oswald of Northumbria, some earth from the battlefield on which he fell, and the body of St. Florentin, brought from Normandy, were acquired for his convent by Abbot Elsi, who died in 1055. In 1053 Arnwig resigned the abbacy to Leofric, nephew of the great Earl of that name, who stood so high with favour of Edward the Confessor and his queen that he was allowed to hold five abbeys at once—Burton, Coventry, Crowland, Thorney, and Peterborough. His influence was equally great with Harold, who conferred benefactions on the abbey—the only instance recorded of gifts made by him to a monastic foundation—and whom he followed with his monks to the field of Senlac, from which he returned to his monastery wounded and weary, and died there on the night of All

Hallows. The monks without delay chose their provost, Brand, as his successor, and sent him to Edgar the Atheling for the confirmation of his appointment. This quiet ignoring of his claim to the throne of England awakened William's fierce wrath, which was only appeased by the gift of forty marks of gold. Brand held his abbacy for a very short time, dying November 27th, 1069. The vacant post was bestowed on a Norman named Turolde, once a monk at Fécamp, but recently by William's appointment Abbot of Malmesbury. He was, writes the local chronicler, "a very stern man," whose rule at Malmesbury had been tyrannical, and "the story runs that William picked him out as being more of a soldier than a monk, as the fittest man to rule the great house of Peterborough, now that it was threatened by Hereward and his fellow outlaws in the Fens." [Freeman, *u. s.*, iv. 458.] Before the new abbot, who had set out with an hundred and sixty armed Frenchmen, could reach Peterborough, the monastery had been sacked and burnt by Hereward and his followers, in conjunction with Sweyn and his Danes, whom he had joined in the Isle of Ely. The rich spoil of the "Golden Borough" was carried off by ship to Denmark, the monks were dispersed, and Turolde, on reaching the place, found only one sick monk left in the infirmary, "and the empty church standing in the midst of the blackened ruins of the monastery." On Turolde's death, in 1100, the monks, who had given the King three hundred marks to be allowed to choose their own abbot, elected Godric, an Englishman, brother of their former abbot Brand. He sat in the synod held at Westminster in 1102, which denounced the prevalent slave trade as "the wicked merchandize by which men were still used to be sold in England like brute beasts." He was soon deposed, however. The abbey remained in the King's hands for four years; and from this time Churchmen of Norman birth alone were permitted to hold the high dignity of Abbot of Peterborough. Those of

especial note were Ernulf, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, who became Bishop of Rochester; John of Seez, who commenced the choir of the existing cathedral, after a fire in 1116, which consumed the greater part of the monastery; Martin of Bec, who completed the choir and transept-aisles, and who governed the monastery with great prudence during the troubled times of Stephen; William de Waterville, and Benedict, who completed the nave, (the latter was Cœur-de-Lion's Keeper of the Great Seal); Robert de Sutton, who first joined the side of the Barons, and then that of Henry III., and was compelled to pay heavy fines in consequence; Richard Ashton, and Robert Kirtton, who built the eastern transept, or New Building; and John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop. The monastery had steadily increased in wealth and importance; and at the time of the dissolution it was one of the richest, though scarcely the best-conducted in England. Many of the English monarchs had visited it on their way to or from the north. Edward III., his queen, and court kept the Easter festival at Peterborough in 1327, on which occasion the abbot, Adam de Botheby, expended nearly £500. Cardinal Wolsey kept the same feast at Peterborough in great state in 1528; but although the abbey expended enormous sums in entertaining its royal and noble visitors, the local rhyme characterizing the great monasteries of the fens indicates that it was scarcely so liberal to those of lower degree:—

“ Ramsay the bounteous of gold and of fee,
 Crowland as courteous as courteous may be,
 Spalding the rich and Peterborough the proud,
 Sawtreby by the way
 That poor abbaye
 Gave more alms in one day
 Than all they.”

John Chambers, the last abbot, Fellow of Merton and Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster, who, in the words of

Gunton, the historian of Peterborough, "loved to sleep in a whole skin, and desired to die in his nest," resigned the abbey to Henry VIII. on the 1st of March, 1540. He was then granted an annual pension of £260; but in the following year, letters patent were issued for converting the monastic church into the cathedral of a new diocese, which was to extend over the counties of Northampton and Rutland, hitherto comprised in the great diocese of Lincoln. The church is said by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, on the authority of Holinshed, to have been spared as a monument to Catherine of Arragon. Henry VIII., according to a somewhat apocryphal story, replied to a suggestion, "How well it would become his greatness to erect a fair monument for her," "Yes; I will leave her one of the goodliest in the kingdom,"—meaning this church.

[A.D. 1541—1556.] JOHN CHAMBERS retained the abbot's residence as his palace; and the new diocese was endowed with a third part of the property of the abbey, amounting to the yearly value of £733, (equal to about £14,660 of our money); the other two parts being assigned to the King, and to the newly-established chapter, consisting of a dean and six canons. Bishop Chambers erected for himself in the cathedral a monument with an effigy, which was destroyed in 1643.

[A.D. 1557, deposed 1559.] DAVID POOLE, Fellow of All Souls, chaplain to Henry VIII., Chancellor of Lichfield, Archdeacon of Salop and of Derby, Canon of Exeter, and Dean of the Arches; was deprived for denying the supremacy of Queen Mary; "being esteemed a grave person and very quiet subject," says Antony Wood. He was committed to custody, but soon liberated, and died on one of the farms belonging to the see. He was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1560, translated to Norwich 1584.] EDMUND SCAMBLER, educated at Peter House, Prebendary of York and Westminster, had been chaplain to Archbishop Parker. During

his long episcopate at Peterborough, he alienated much of the land belonging to the see; "As if," says Gunton, "King Henry had not taken away enough, and the Bishop himself would take away more." The greater part of the alienated estates passed into the hands of Cecil, who surrounded his mansion-house at Burleigh with the spoils of the see of Peterborough. At the commencement of the Reformation, and during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the alienation of Church property had gone so far, "that in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, statutes were made disabling ecclesiastical proprietors from granting away their lands except on leases for three lives, or twenty-one years. But an unfortunate reservation was made in favour of the crown. The Queen, therefore, and her courtiers, who obtained grants from her, continued to prey upon their succulent victim.*" Cecil, however, was not more "mercenary and rapacious" than the rest of Elizabeth's courtiers, with the exception of Walsingham, "who spent his own estate in her service, and left not sufficient to pay his debts." (See ELY, Part II.—Bishop Cox.) The Bishop of Peterborough was not less active in the work of alienation after his translation to Norwich; and Lord Keeper Puckering petitioned the Queen to confer the see of Ely on Scambler, when eighty-eight years old, in order that he might give him a lease of part of the lands. This second translation never took place; and by an act in the first year of James I., conveyances of bishops' lands to the crown are made void: "a concession," says Hallam, "much to the King's honour."

[A.D. 1585—1600.] RICHARD HOWLAND, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1594 he was disappointed of the archiepiscopal see of York, which he had "much endeavoured after." During his episcopate, Mary Queen of Scots was buried at Peterborough. The sermon on this occasion, however, (from Ps. xxxix. 5, 6, 7,) which "made

* Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. iv.

a great noise among factious people," was preached by William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln.

[A.D. 1601—1630.] THOMAS DOVE, Fellow of Pembroke Hall and Dean of Norwich, a chaplain of Queen Elizabeth's, who was wont to call him "the Dove with silver wings," from his excellent preaching and reverend aspect. He kept great hospitality during his long episcopate.

[A.D. 1630, translated to Bath and Wells 1632.] WILLIAM PIERS, Dean of Peterborough. (See WELLS CATHEDRAL.)

[A.D. 1633, translated to Hereford 1634.] AUGUSTINE LINDSELL, Fellow of Clare Hall, Prebendary of Lincoln and Durham, Dean of Lichfield. Bishop Lindsell, whose learning was considerable, was the editor of "Theophylact on St. Paul's Epistles," fol. 1636.

[A.D. 1634—1638.] FRANCIS DEE, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, Chancellor of Salisbury, and Dean of Chichester.

[A.D. 1639—1649.] JOHN TOWERS, Fellow of Queens', Cambridge, Prebendary of Westminster and Dean of Peterborough. The "great commission for draining the fens" was opened at Peterborough soon after this bishop's accession. The commissioners sat for some days in the great hall of the palace; and their decisions were henceforth known as "Peterborough law." The troubles of the civil war fell heavily on Bishop Towers, whose cathedral suffered more than any other in England from the fanatic soldiery. (Part I. § xv.) He was himself for some time in attendance on the King, and having been, says Willis, "outed of all by the iniquity of the times," died in obscurity, Jan. 10, 1648, "twenty days before his great master King Charles."

A.D. 1660, translated to Lincoln 1663.] BENJAMIN LANEY, appointed after twelve years' vacancy of the see, had been Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Dean of Rochester. He had attended Charles II. during his exile. Dr. Cosin, consecrated to the see of Durham at the same

time as Bishop Laney to that of Peterborough, had been Dean of Peterborough before the troubles, and returned to his former charge on the Restoration. The cathedral of Peterborough, which remained in a ruinous condition for many years after the desecration, had been partly restored, and was used by the inhabitants as a parish church. He rebuilt one of the great western arches which had fallen down. Dean Cosin, installed Dean Nov. 7, 1640, "renewed the ancient usage," and "settled the church and choir in a proper order."

[A.D. 1663—1679.] JOSEPH HENSHAW, Fellow of All Souls, Dean of Chichester, author of *Horæ Successivæ*, a book of some reputation in its day. "Having lived not very hospitably in his diocese," writes Brown Willis, he died suddenly in London, and was buried near his wife in the church of East Lavant, Sussex, which living had been bestowed on him by Archbishop Laud.

[A.D. 1679, translated to Norwich 1685.] WILLIAM LLOYD, translated to Peterborough from Llandaff. Bishop Lloyd, who died in 1710, was the longest lived of the Nonjuring bishops. He was deprived 1690. (See NORWICH.)

[A.D. 1685, deprived 1690.] THOMAS WHITE, also a Nonjuror. Educated at St. John's, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Princess Anne, and Vicar of Newark. He was one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower. He died 1698.

[A.D. 1691—1718.] RICHARD CUMBERLAND, a native of London, educated at St. Paul's School, and Magdalene College, Cambridge, became successively Rector of Bampton, Oxfordshire, Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Sir O. Bridgeman, 1668, and Rector of All Saints, Stamford, 1680. "He had no pretension to quick and brilliant talents," writes his great grandson, Richard Cumberland, author of "The Observer." "His mind was fitted for elaborate and profound researches, as his works more fully testify." Bishop Cumberland was the author of a refutation of the 'free principles' of Hobbes, entitled *De Legibus Naturæ Dis-*

quisitio Philosophica, a book which, between the years 1672 (when it first appeared) and 1750, was several times reprinted, in Latin and English, both at home and on the Continent. Besides some lesser works, Bishop Cumberland also wrote *Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ*, or, "Attempts for Discovering the Times of the First Planting of Nations." London, 1724. His monument remains in the New Building, with an inscription already noticed. (Part I. § xx.)

[A.D. 1718—1728.] WHITE KENNETT had been eleven years Dean of Peterborough, and is perhaps the most distinguished prelate who has ever filled the see. Bishop Kennett was born at Dover in 1660, was educated at Westminster and Oxford, and became successively Vicar of Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire, Rector of Shottesbroke, Berkshire, and Dean (1708) and Bishop of Peterborough. Bishop Kennett is best remembered, however, for his literary labours. Besides many smaller works in which he replied to the arguments of Atterbury respecting the history and rights of the Convocation, Bishop Kennett wrote "Parochial Antiquities: a History of Ambrosden, Bicester, and the Neighbourhood." 4to., 1695: this book was republished by Dr. Bandinel, (Oxford, 1818,) and is still of considerable interest and value; "A Complete History of England," 3 vols. folio, 1706 (the third volume alone is Kennett's, and contains the history from Charles I. to William III.); and "A Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil," 2 vols. folio, 1728. (Part I. § xx.)

The chapter library at Peterborough was greatly enriched by the care of Bishop Kennett, and of his registrar, the Rev. Joseph Sparke, editor of a collection of chronicles which has now become rare, entitled *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii*. London, folio, 1723. The volume contains many of the chronicles connected with the abbey of Peterborough.

[A.D. 1729—1747.] ROBERT CLAVERING was translated to Peterborough from Llandaff.

- [A.D. 1747, translated to Salisbury 1757.] JOHN THOMAS, tutor to George III. (See SALISBURY.)
- [A.D. 1757, translated to London 1764.] RICHARD TERRICK (See ST. PAUL'S.)
- [A.D. 1764—1769.] ROBERT LAMB, previously Dean of Peterborough 1744.
- [A.D. 1769—1794.] JOHN HINCHCLIFFE, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; which position he retained after he became Bishop of Peterborough, until in 1789 he was appointed to the Deanery of Durham, which he held with his bishopric until his death.
- [A.D. 1794—1813.] SPENCER MADAN, educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow 1750. He was appointed Prebendary of Peterborough in 1770, and became Bishop of Bristol in 1793, from which he was translated the next year.
- [A.D. 1813—1819.] JOHN PARSONS, born at Oxford 1761, educated at the Cathedral School, Christ Church, and at Magdalen College, became Fellow of Wadham 1785, and was elected Master of Balliol 1798. He afterwards was appointed Dean of Bristol, and in 1813 Bishop of Peterborough. He retained the Mastership until his death. He died at Oxford, and was buried in the chapel of Balliol College.
- [A.D. 1819—1839.] HERBERT MARSH, born in 1757, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow 1782. He resided some years at Gottingen and Leipsic, when he became acquainted with German theology, which he afterwards introduced into England, in the work by which he is chiefly known, his translation of J. D. Michaelis' "Introduction to the New Testament." Having received a pension from Mr. Pitt for a political pamphlet, he returned to England in 1800, and became Lady Margaret Professor in 1807, which chair he occupied till his death. In 1816 he was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1819 was translated to Peterborough.

[A.D. 1839—1864.] GEORGE DAVYS, Preceptor to Queen Victoria, Dean of Chester 1831—1839.

[A.D. 1864—1868.] FRANCIS JEUNE, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Canon of Gloucester 1843, Dean of Lincoln 1864.

[A.D. 1868.] WILLIAM CONNOR MAGEE, Dean of Cork 1864, Dean of the Vice-Royal Chapel, Dublin, 1866.



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NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.



ST. ETHELBERT'S GATE

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NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

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Wilhelmi Alnwyk Epi." On either side are canopied niches, from which the figures have disappeared. The original Norman west front remains behind Bishop Alnwick's additions, which were merely built up against the old wall, disturbing it as little as possible. The window above was added by the Bishop's executors after his death in 1449, in accordance with the direction of his will. It is of great, perhaps disproportionate size, although the tracery with which it is filled is good and resembles as nearly as possible that of the west window of Westminster Hall. Norman turrets rise on either side; and the fronts of the aisles, with their doors and windows, are also Norman. The pinnacles which crown the flanking turrets are due to Mr. Blore, by whom the front was restored. Owing to deficient bonding between the new work and the old, it became dangerous two years since, rendering extensive repairs necessary, which are not yet completed (1880).

IV. The *nave* [Plate I.], which we now enter, is throughout Norman, with the exception of its vaulted roof and of the chapel constructed by Bishop Nix in the south aisle. Its western part is assigned, and with probability, to Bishop EVERARD (1121—1115), who no doubt followed the original plan of his predecessor, Bishop Herbert.

The nave, which extends 252 feet from the western door, and comprises fourteen bays to the intersection of the transepts, is the longest in England, with the exception of that of St. Alban's, which extends to 290 feet. Four bays, however, are included in the



THE NAVE FROM THE WEST END.

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choir and ante-choir. The great open arches of the triforium, which at once attract attention, thus form a more peculiar feature in the general view of the nave than its unusual length. The arrangement occurs in early Norman work on the Continent, but is found in no other English cathedral. There are, however, examples in some important churches, as at Southwell Minster and Waltham Abbey.

The nave piers are unusually massive, and alternate regularly in design as far as the ninth pier from the west end. On the east and west faces of the first pier are circular half-piers, with cushion capitals. On the inner faces of the second are three semi-attached shafts, with plain caps. A single shaft set in the angle of each pier supports the outer arch, which is decorated with the billet-moulding. A second shaft in the alternate piers runs up to and supports the outer triforium arch. The faces of the piers towards the nave have alternately four shafts and one; *i.e.* two vaulting shafts, and one, and two shafts running up to the triforium arch and none. The bases of the piers, which had been much injured by the burning timbers at the time of the great fire of 1463, have undergone a Perpendicular transformation.

The *triforium*, of which the arches are scarcely less in size than those of the nave below them, extends over the whole space of the aisles, and is lighted by segmental-headed Decorated windows inserted at the back, the exterior walls being raised to receive them. The original triple Norman arcades remain beneath the

later windows, with double wall-shafts between them in the southern triforium, which are destroyed in that to the north. The outer wall has been raised to a considerably greater height in the two easternmost bays, and taller windows inserted, the roof being set with an inward slope to gain additional light to the choir.

On the whole north side of the nave, and as far as Bishop Nix's chantry on the south side, the outer arch of the triforium is eccentric to the sub-arches. The alternate courses of darker and lighter stone in the triforium arches should be noticed. Throughout, the triforium arches have triple shafts on their inner sides, and a zigzag moulding above them. The *clerestory* is set back within a wall-passage, forming a series of triple arches, as at Oxford. The central arch, at the back of which is the window, is raised on slender shafts, resting on the capitals of those below. A billet-moulding surrounds this arch. The clerestory lights are Norman. The capitals and bases of piers and shafts are throughout plain, except in the western part of the wall-arcade of the southern triforium.

The alteration of the western doorway is at once evident from within, the original Norman arch remaining above Bishop Alnwick's Perpendicular insertion. A lofty Norman arcade of two arches remains on either side of the doorway. The two northern arches are some inches higher than those south; and following the indication thus afforded, it will be seen that throughout the nave all the arches on the north side are slightly higher than those opposite,—a fact for which

it is difficult to account, but from which we may perhaps conclude that one side of the nave was completed before the other.

V. The beautiful lierne-vault of the nave was the work of Bishop WALTER LEHART (1446—1472), the original Norman roof, which was of wood, having been destroyed when the spire of the cathedral was struck by lightning in 1463. The vaulting-shafts are of the same date as the roof itself. They descend alternately to the level of the triforium and clerestory. The latter having to meet a pair of Norman vaulting-shafts are united by an awkward fork resembling a water-pipe, similar to what is seen in the lantern of Gloucester.

Bishop Lehart's device,—a hart lying in the water (*Wa'ter Lie-hart*),—alternates with an angel bearing a shield on the corbels at the bases of the



longer shafts. The bosses of the roof, 225 in number, are carved with minute figures, which form a complete sacred history, beginning at the tower end with the Creation, and ending with the Last Judgment. All were originally painted and gilt. The vault was washed stone-colour in 1806, but was cleaned and the colouring partially restored in 1872. The bosses have been made the subject of an elaborate description, illustrated by photographs, written by Dean

Goulburn, and published by Mr. Stacy of Norwich. In the centre of this roof, between the west door and the choir screen, is a circular opening of some size. Similar openings exist in the roofs of Durham and Exeter Cathedrals, and in other vaults of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods; and it has been conjectured that they served for censuring the church on great festivals, and for other occasional ceremonies*.

The great *west window* is best seen from the upper part of the nave. It is filled with stained glass by HEDGELAND, as a memorial of Bishop STANLEY, who died in 1849. The design is of more pictorial character than usual, but the result is very far from pleasing. The subjects are—the adoration of the Magi, the finding of Moses, and the Ascension, after RAFFAELLE; the brazen serpent, after LE BRUN; and Christ blessing little children, after WEST. In the centre of the nave, over the

* Harrod, Castles and Convents of Norfolk, p. 270. Mr. Harrod quotes the following passage from Lambard's Topographical Dictionary:—"I myself, being a child, once was in Paule's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsontide, wheare the comyng down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the mydst of the roof of the great ile; and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swinged up and down at such a length that it reached at one swepe almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the queer stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete things as burned therein." A curious account of similar ceremonies in the great church at Dunkirk early in the last century will be found in the fourth volume of Ellis's Letters Illustrative of English History, Fourth Series.

grave of Bishop Stanley, is a black marble slab, the inscription on which should be read.

VI. The *nave-aisles* are covered by a plain quadripartite vault, without ribs, springing from shafts set against the piers of the nave, and from half-piers with semi-attached shafts against the opposite wall. The bays are divided by a plain arch, slightly horse-shoed. Decorated windows have been inserted; and a blank arcade, of five arches in each bay, fills the wall below them. In both aisles some of the original Norman window-splays, with shafts at the angles, remain.

In the north aisle, in the *fifth* bay stands a magnificent altar-tomb of Purbeck marble with richly panelled sides, removed from the Jesus Chapel. It is that of Sir THOMAS WYNDHAM and his four wives, and formerly stood in the Lady-chapel. The brasses are lost. A mural monument above it, to a lay clerk named Parsley, has a quaint inscription that may reward perusal. Between the *sixth* and *seventh* pillars lies the learned Dean PRIDEAUX, author of the "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," d. 1724. In the *eighth* bay an Early English door with segmental head and curious carving in the spandrils, now blocked up, opened to the *green-yard* of the priory, in which was a cross where sermons were occasionally preached. In the *ninth* bay is a memorial window by WARRINGTON, for WILLIAM SMITH, d. 1849, for forty years Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. In the *tenth* bay is an altar-tomb with a beautiful panelled face, from which the brasses have been removed. It is that of

SIR JOHN HOBART, Attorney-General to Henry VII. This monument was enclosed in a chantry.

In the *south aisle* the windows of the *sixth* bay have been filled with stained glass as a memorial for members of the family of Hales, by WAILES. The *seventh* and *eighth* bays were converted into a chantry by Bishop NIX (1501—1536). The sides of the piers and the vaulting are much enriched with panels and tracery of late Perpendicular character. The Bishop's arms occur in the spandrils; and at the east end, forming the reredos with a pillar-piscina at the south-east corner, are three canopied niches. The iron-work on which the 'sacring-bell' hung, remains; but the railing which surrounded the chapel, together with a stone bracket which projected into the nave, were destroyed by the Puritans. The windows of this chantry are filled with stained glass to Sir SAMUEL BIGNOLD, by HARDMAN, with silvery canopies, and to Sir ROBERT HARVEY, by O'CONNOR, the colours of which are much too glaring. In the *seventh* bay is the tomb of Chancellor SPENCER, on which the rents of the dean and chapter were formerly paid; and in the *ninth* is the plain altar-tomb of Bishop PARKHURST (1560—1575), from which the brasses have been removed. Against the wall is the monument of Dean GARDINER (1573—1589), who pulled down the ruined Lady-chapel; and against the pier at the foot of Chancellor Spencer's tomb, a mural monument for Dean HENRY FAIRFAX, one of the Fellows of Magdalen who resisted James II. In the last bay of this aisle toward the east, and in the

fifth bay from the west, are doors opening to the cloisters. (See § XVIII.) On the west side of the eleventh pier is a painted mural monument to William Inglott, organist of the cathedral (died 1621), depicting Art and Age crowning him.

VII. The ninth pier on either side differs from all the rest, and is circular, with a spiral ribbed ornament, like that of the piers at Durham. These piers mark the original extent of the choir, which, as usual in Norman cathedrals, stretched beyond the central tower, and comprised two, and with the western screens and chapels four, bays of the nave. The pier now incorporated with the organ-screen will prove on examination to have been originally of a similar cylindrical form. Beyond this point eastward, the vaulting-shafts are cut short about half-way, to prevent their interfering with the stalls and the vault of the western chapels, and terminate in corbel-heads. A skeleton peeps out grimly under the plaster of the wall-arcade at the end of the south aisle.

The *organ-screen* at present crosses the nave at the east end of the eleventh bay. The lower part, which is ancient, has been restored, and was no doubt the work of Bishop Lehart, whose arms and device appear in the spandrils of the entrance. The projecting upper part, which was completed in 1833 by Mr. Salvin, is heavy and ugly, and its effect is by no means improved by the decoration of the organ which stands above it. Extending westward, between the piers on either side of the screen door, were small chapels with

altars; that on the north dedicated to St. William, a boy said to have been crucified by the Jews in 1137 (see Part II., Bishop EVERARD, and compare the notice of "Little St. Hugh," Lincoln Cathedral), that on the south to St. Mary. Both were destroyed during the Rebellion. The reredoses of these chapels remain, but their character is almost obliterated by restoration. The pillar-piscina of that to the north may still be seen, as well as the cluster of shafts on either side of the entrance which supported the vault that roofed in these chapels westward.

The *ante-choir*, which fills the space under the organ-loft, between two piers, was the chapel of our Lady of Pity. Its upper portion is cut off by the floor of the organ-loft, which forms a huge gallery, from which, till recently, the cathedral service used to be sung. Galleries above the stalls still encumber the choir on either side. The walls north and south are covered with a Perpendicular panelling. Till 1854 the side-aisles were blocked by solid walls, broken by doors. They are now filled with stone screens, glazed; that to the north having formed part of a screen separating the Jesus Chapel from the north-east aisle of the choir, from which it was most unwarrantably removed.

VIII. The *choir* itself extends beyond the screen to the extreme eastern apse, the graceful curve of which, seen beyond the Norman arcades of the central tower, is very picturesque and striking. Bishop Lehart's roof extends to the western piers of the tower. The lower



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STALLS IN THE CHOIR.

Mr. Tolson



arches of the choir have now plain mouldings, instead of the billet seen in the nave. In other respects the two bays west of the tower differ not at all from those of the nave. The *stalls* [Plate II.] are arranged on either side of the choir as far as the transept. They are sixty-two in number, for the prior, sub-prior, and sixty monks. Their carving and details, which are Perpendicular and probably of the middle of the fifteenth century, are excellent and deserve the closest examination. Remark especially the birds serving as crockets, and the curious circular heads at the foliation-cusps of the arches. The paint with which these stalls were encrusted at the general "repair and beautification" in 1806 has been removed, and the broken portions carefully restored.

The *misereres* below [Plate III.] are still more interesting than the stalls, and are of two periods: the earlier, dating probably from the commencement of the fifteenth century, are distinguished by a ledge or seat with sharp angles; the later, which date from the end of the same century, have a ledge rounded at the sides, and sinking inward at the centre. They have been carefully examined and described by Mr. Harrod^d. All will repay careful notice; but the most interesting are as follows:—

South side of choir, beginning west.

2. A lion and dragon biting each other. The grouping very spirited.

^d Castles and Convents of Norfolk. The descriptions which follow are Mr Harrod's.

3. A rose-tree.

6. A man seated, reading. *Right*, a shepherd, with his flock about him. *Left*, a group of scholars; two with books, two fighting: the master taking cakes from a basket.

10. A man and a woman, in civil costume; the lady with a rosary, the man with a long girdle.

12. A crowned head.

16. Two male figures, preparing to wrestle.

Corporation-pew, south of choir.

23. A large human head, supported by foliage.

28. A schoolmaster scourging a child: his scholars about him.

30. A fox running away with a goose, pursued by a woman with a distaff; meanwhile, a pig feeds from a pot, and other pots and pans are thrown about in the *melée*.

North side of choir, beginning west.

4. A knight in armour.

5. A huntsman, with stag and dogs.

7. A knight and lady. The arms on either side are Wingfield (*right*) and Boville (*left*). Sir Thomas Wingfield married the heiress of Boville in the latter part of the reign of Edward III.

13. A man in armour, sitting on a lion, and tearing open its jaws.

16. A man riding on a boar.

17. A large owl, with small birds about it.

18. A man drinking, upset by a boar.

Corporation-pew, north of choir.

23. A man riding on a stag.

28. A castle.

29. A monkey driving another in a wheelbarrow.

The *Bishop's throne* was erected by Dean Lloyd, towards the end of the last century, "in resemblance of ancient Gothic workmanship."

IX. The *central tower*, the first story of which is early Norman, and probably part of Bishop Herbert's work, is open to the roof, as a lantern. The upper stories are also Norman, but of later date. The tower is raised on four very lofty circular arches, having semi-attached shafts in front and in the rebates. Above, on all four sides, are three arcades, all circular-headed, the upper and lower pierced with passages leading to the roof. The lower arcade is of six arches on each side. That in the centre is narrower than either of the others, and merely relieves the wall, "except in the extremity of each face, where it is pierced by a large circular aperture, which goes quite through the wall." The upper arcade of three arches is the loftiest, and is pierced for windows. Two large shafts support each a group of smaller ones, from which the arch springs within which the window is set, all the shafts being "admirably proportioned to the great height at which they are placed." The windows are filled with stained glass, which produces a singularly good effect. Above this arcade the lantern is closed by a flat wooden ceiling of the worst possible design, which it is hoped may be speedily removed.

The transepts (§ XII.) which open south and north from the tower, were formerly separated from the choir, and encumbered by huge galleries. They were

thrown into it during the alterations of 1851, and have been filled with oaken benches almost to the very end.

X. The portion of the choir [Plate IV.] which extends eastward of the tower has been greatly altered, although the original Norman ground-plan remains unchanged. The roof and clerestory had been crushed in 1362 by the fall of the spire. The clerestory was then built by Bishop Percy. The present stone vault was erected by Bishop GOLDWELL (1472-1499), who also transformed the arches on either side, as far as the apse, from Norman to Perpendicular. Bishop Percy's roof of finely-moulded oaken timber, originally intended to be seen from below, still remains above the stone vaulting.

The original design of the presbytery seems to have differed in no respect from that of the nave. The Norman arches of the triforium, which are without the zigzag ornament of those in the nave, remain untouched; but the shafts running up in front of the piers have been cut away, except at the junction of the choir with the apse, where the shafts once supporting the great arch have been altered, but their Norman capitals retained.

The triforium should be ascended for the sake of the view; that from the centre of the apse is remarkably grand, commanding the whole length of the church to its west window. In the walls at the back of the triforium, below its segmental-headed Decorated windows, are the original triple Norman windows, now closed, between which are double wall-shafts, once



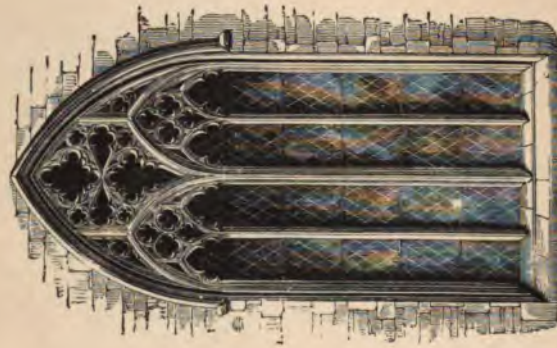
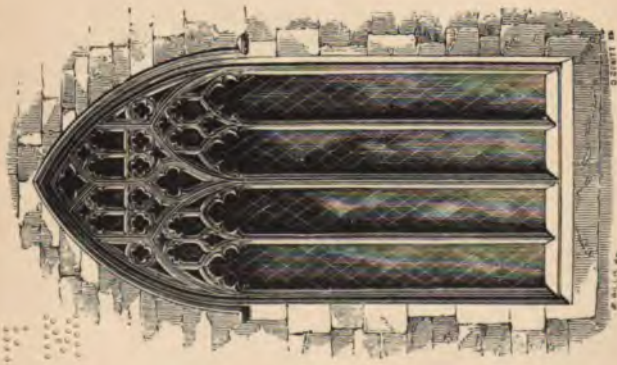
THE LANTERN, PRESBYTERY AND APSE.

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WINDOWS FROM THE CLERESTORY OF THE PRESBYTERY

supporting the semi-arches of the triforium roof. The capitals on the south side are somewhat richly carved, though so far removed from the eye.

Bishop Percy's clerestory is very light and graceful. Groups of slender shafts, rising in a line with the triforium arches, form an arcade in front of the lofty four-light windows [Plate V.], between which are tall ogree-headed niches. They assist in carrying the groined ceiling, eighty-three feet from the pavement, which is, however, not so rich as that of Bishops Lehart or Nix. The windows of the apse, and on the south side of the choir, are flamboyant; those on the north Perpendicular. "The bosses, which are so elaborate and varied in the nave, are here very poor, the bishop's rebus (a well, or) forming the subject of the majority." (*Harrod.*) "In the centre of the roof . . . is a small round hole, from which, I believe, hung the light of the Sacrament, the usual place of which was before the altar, and not above it. From hence, at Easter, might the light have been let down to fire the great sepulchre light. The hole is not a forced one; it was made when the roof was built."—(*Id.*)

The *apse*, which, like the eastern part of the choir, was originally early Norman, and the work of Bishop Herbert, is semicircular as far as the top of the triforium. The clerestory, added by Bishop Percy, is pentagonal; and the manner in which the change is effected deserves notice. The lower part of the apse consists of five arches, once closed but now open. They have the zigzag ornament, and the shafts of

their piers are much enriched. They were originally closed half-way up, and contained stone benches for the clergy. The bishop's throne remains in a shattered state in the central arch (see the original arrangement in the aisle behind, § xvi.). This was the most ancient position for the episcopal chair—at the back of the high altar; a position which it still occupies in some Continental churches, as it formerly did at Canterbury. The eastern part of the choir has received much well-directed renovation at the cost of Dean GOULBURN. The original levels have been restored, and the Norman bases laid bare two feet below the Perpendicular bases. A fragment of a Norman arch (a restoration) will be noticed on the north side.

The apse and sacrarium are paved with POWELL's glass mosaic, with slabs of porphyry and other rich marbles interspersed. Bands of vine-foliage surround the Holy Table.

The inlaid altar-table, designed by Mr. A. W. BLOMFIELD, of great richness and appropriateness of design, stands in the centre of the chord of the apse.

The triforium arches of the apse are slightly below the level of those in the choir. They are five in number; and their groups of shafts, with the space seen at the back of the arches, lighted by windows filled with stained glass, produce a very fine effect. The capitals here are slightly more enriched than in the choir. Two grotesque heads serve as brackets on either side of the first pier. The clerestory of the

apse has the same wall-passage as the rest of the presbytery. The glass with which its windows are filled is entirely modern, by WARRINGTON. The triforium window below is a memorial to Canon Thurlow, and is tolerably good.

The view looking westward from the apse should be noticed. The unusual height of the choir (83 feet) as contrasted with that of the nave (72 feet), and the open arcades of the central tower, are the features which most attract attention.

XI. The four lower arches on either side of the presbytery, between the apse and the central tower, once closed behind and converted into recesses covered with florid tracery, were opened about 1875. The fronts of the piers between the arches are also covered with tracery and tabernacle-work. Above the arches are square panels with shields of arms, in all of which the bull's head of Boleyn is conspicuous; and the whole is crowned by a pierced parapet which rises above the base of the triforium. The small turrets in the tabernacle-work perhaps refer to the castle which forms the arms of Norwich. The shields, which are those of Boleyn with quarterings, constitute a "memorial of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling, who died 1505, and whose monument was in the first arch on the south side; and we may therefore conclude that his screen-work was erected by the Boleyn family after his death."

"The Norman workmen had built this end of the

* Harrod, Churches and Convents of Norfolk, p. 289.

choir slightly out of the straight line, so that a line drawn through the centre of the nave would strike the east end of the presbytery some inches south of the actual central point of it. The Perpendicular walls have been built so as in some measure to correct this deviation; and the consequence has been, that the central shaft of the two eastern arches on the south side, would, if it had been left in its place, have overhung the parapet; but it has been completely removed, and the wall made flat up to the spring of the arches. All the shafts in the same position on the north side are pared down in a similar way."

In the recesses on the north side of the choir, are—

1. (beginning from the west) mural tablets for Bishop HORNE (died 1792) and Dean LLOYD (died 1790).

2. The monument of Dr. MOORE (died 1779); whose periwigged head is in grotesque juxtaposition with a cherub making a very ugly face, and drying his eyes with what seems to be his shirt. On a panel in front of the pier is a tablet for the youngest son of Bishop HALL, who died in 1642.

4. The fourth recess on this side is known as "Queen Elizabeth's seat," because it was prepared for that Queen's occupation on her visit to Norwich, as Bishop Freake's guest, in 1578. At the back of this recess is a quatrefoiled hagioscope or squint,

¹ Harrod, Churches and Convents of Norfolk, pp. 285, 286.

affording worshippers in the aisle a view of the altar before the later work was erected in front of it. Another similar hagioscope is said to have existed on the opposite side of the presbytery. The Perpendicular panelling of this recess is modern, and was constructed at the time the arches of the apse were stopped up (before 1785). Before that time this recess was filled in with a plain partition, reaching to within a foot of the spring of the arch. The Perpendicular bases are on a higher level than those of the other recesses, there having been a flight of steps leading up to the bridge-chapel across the procession path (§ xiv.). Chantrey's statue of Bishop Bathurst, originally placed here, has been removed to the South Transept.

On the south side, beginning from the east, the tomb in the first recess is shewn as that of Sir William Boleyn (died 1505), father of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and great-grandfather of Queen Elizabeth. Blickling, about thirteen miles from Norwich, was the property of the Boleyns before its purchase by the Hobarts; and is generally thought to have been the birth-place of Anne Boleyn, who is known to have spent her early years there. The tomb is, however, modern, of red-brick plastered over, and was set up when the Presbytery arches were blocked up. The slab which covered this tomb, now in the aisle floor, bears the matrix of a female effigy.

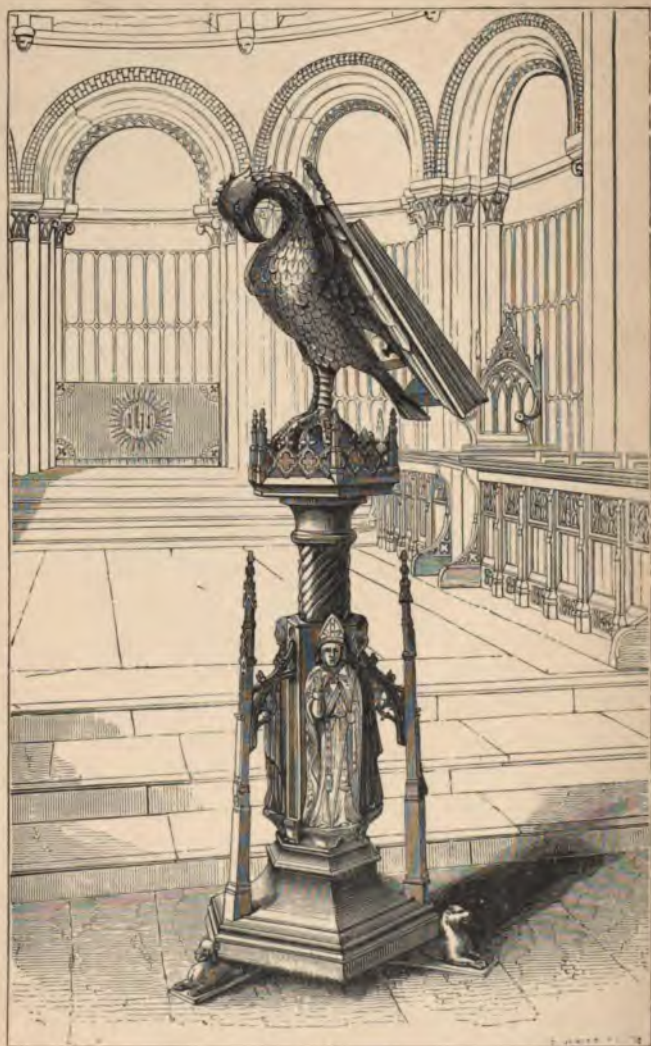
2. In the second recess is the monument of Bishop OVERALL (died 1619), with a quaint coloured bust

looking out from a niche above. The monument was placed here by his friend and secretary, John Cosin, after his own elevation to the see of Durham.

8. The third recess contains the chantry of Bishop Goldwell (1472—1479), the builder of the present clerestory and roof of the choir. The recess was not closed by a wall, like the others, and is now glazed at the back. The canopy of the tomb, covered with Perpendicular tracery, divides the arch. The trellis-work tracery of the vaulting should be remarked. The altar-tomb, of which the sides are enriched with ornamented panels, is at the south-west corner of the recess; and in the space, east, an altar was placed by Bishop Goldwell during his lifetime, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, SS. James the Greater and the Less, the reredos of which remains. The effigy, which has been painted and gilt, is interesting in spite of much injury, and is remarkable as being "the only instance of the monumental effigy of a bishop, prior to the Reformation, in which the *cappa pluvialis*, or processional cope, is represented as the outward vestment instead of the casula, or chesible."—(M. H. Bloxam.) Beneath the cope is the dalmatic, the ornamental border of which runs the whole length of the effigy. Beneath the dalmatic is seen the border of the tunicle, and beneath this, again, the fringed ends of the stole, and finally the skirt of the alb. The amice surrounds the neck. The maniple hangs over the left arm. The lower part of the pastoral staff has the vexillum, or scarf, swathed round it.



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THE EAGLE LECTERN.

In front of the high altar was the monument of Bishop Herbert, founder of the cathedral. It was much injured at the Rebellion; and of a new one, which was erected in 1682, and taken down by Dean Pellew to make room for the communicants, the slab alone now remains fixed in the pavement. The very beautiful bronze *lectern* [Plate VI.] of late Decorated character, which was for a long time hidden among useless lumber in the Jesus Chapel, deserves careful attention. A pelican "in her piety," with her claws resting on a globe, forms the support. Round the base are three small figures, added in 1845: a bishop with pastoral staff, giving his benediction; a priest with chalice; and a deacon wearing his stole over his right shoulder.

XII. The *transepts*, like the choir and the lower part of the central tower, are no doubt the work of Bishop HERBERT. The general arrangement in both is the same as that of the nave and choir; they vary, however, in details. The north and south ends of both consist of three stories, in the lower of which are two windows with a blind arcade between, and in both the upper stories three Norman windows, from which Perpendicular tracery has been removed. Between the windows rise vaulting-shafts, the upper part of which is cut off by Bishop Nix's roof. The north and south ends of both transepts have been divided from the rest of the church by modern panelled screens. Till within a comparatively recent period the last bay of the South Transept was cut off by

a wall (shown in Britton's ground-plan), and was annexed to the prison of the Close.

In the *south transept*, the lower part of the walls are lined by a Norman arcade; on the east side an intersecting arcade, with greatly elongated shafts, fills the triforium space of the first bay on the east side, behind which a staircase ascends to the upper stories of the tower. The west wall shows two rows of triple Norman windows. A bad stained window, of the Ascension, executed by the wife of a former Dean, judiciously removed from the apse, has found a place here. The monument of Bishop SCAMBLER (1585—1595) is on the west wall, as well as a memorial brass to the officers and men of the 9th (East Norfolk) Regiment of Foot who fell in China and Japan; and on the east wall is a monument to those of the same regiment who fell in the Afghan campaign of 1842. Here also is placed Chantrey's fine sitting figure of Bishop Bathurst (died 1837), the latest work of the sculptor, removed from the north side of the choir. A clock, with figures of James I.'s time, which struck the quarters with their axes, formerly stood here; and was probably the successor of a very curious one erected between 1322 and 1325, with elaborate machinery, resembling that of the clocks at Wells and Exeter*.

The very rich *roof* of the transept was the work of Bishop NIX (1501—1536). "Its bosses illustrate

* This clock has been described (from the Norwich Sacrist Rolls) by Mr. Way in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xii.

the early history of Christ, the Presentation, the Baptism, the Disputation in the Temple, and some of the early miracles."

The south transept, like the north, had an apsidal chapel projecting from it easterly; which has long disappeared. At the south-east angle is the *vestry*, a long vaulted room of the Decorated period, with a chamber above it. It has been suggested that the vestry was originally the sacristy; and that the upper room was a chapel of St. Edmund^b.

In the vestry was preserved the *altar-piece* of the Jesus Chapel, now in the choir-aisle at the east end (§ xv.); a picture, according to Dr. Waagen, "of great significance in the history of English painting." "It contains, in five compartments, the Scourging, the Bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; and judging from the forms of art, may have been executed between 1380 and 1400. Here that idealistic tendency so often mentioned is still throughout adhered to; the well-arranged drapery is of great softness; the colouring powerful, and in many of the heads of great warmth; finally, the treatment in size-colours broad, and in full body. Both the figures and the raised elegant patterns of the gold ground entirely resemble the indubitable English miniatures of the same period; so that there is no question in my mind as to the English origin of this picture. Excepting the Bearing of the Cross, of which much has fallen off, the preservation may

^b Harrod, p. 301.

be called good, and a glass over it prevents any further mischief!" An engraving from this altarpiece will be found in the Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute, together with a paper on the subject by Mr. Albert Way, who (as does Mr. Digby Wyatt) considers it a work of the Siennese school (*circa* 1370). The heads, he observes, especially that of St. John, "recal strikingly the works of Simone Memmi. That artist, however, died as early as 1345."

The Norman arch opening from this transept into the south choir-aisle, was filled with a screen-work of rich late Perpendicular tracery by ROBERT BRONDE, of Catton, the last Prior but one, 1504—1529. A doorway opens below the screen-work. The design is exceedingly elaborate, but graceful. It may be compared with that of the screens (of somewhat later date) with which Wolsey filled the Norman arches at Oxford. The iron-work of the lock should be remarked, with the Prior's initials, R.C., P.N. (Robert Catton, Prior Norwicensis). The arch leading from this transept into the aisle of the nave is filled with stone screen-work, bearing the initials of Canons Wodehouse and Sedgwick.

XIII. In the *north transept*, over a door at the north end, is a Norman wall-arcade, curiously ornamented above with a billet-moulding disposed in triangular arches, with a rudely-carved animal's head projecting between them. An arcade of semicircular

arches, with the billet-moulding, against the east wall of the transept, marks the position of a staircase leading to the tower, the doorway to which with its chequered tympanum, deserves notice. The bosses of Bishop Nix's roof relate to the Nativity, and to the events immediately succeeding. The eastern apsidal chapel (possibly St. Osyth's) remains, but must be entered from without; the communication having been closed between it and the transept (see § XIX.). The screen between this transept and the north choir-aisle is modern, and its carvings deserve attention. To make room for it, however, a fine Early English doorway (given in one of Britton's plates) was destroyed.

XIV. The *aisles*, which extend quite round the choir, and from which three apsidal chapels projected at the east end, were Bishop Herbert's work. The details closely resemble those of the nave-aisles.

On the floor of the *north choir-aisle*, which we now enter, is a "remarkable Purbeck coped coffin-lid," discovered in 1781, buried face downward in the pavement, . . . "presenting the very unusual addition of a bevilled edge, in which an inscribed brass was inserted entirely round it."—(*Harrod.*) The brass itself has disappeared, although the nails remain. It is possibly the monument of Prior NICHOLAS DE BRAMPTON (died 1268); "but if so, it must be a very early example of the brass fillet." A long raised seat along the wall above this coffin-lid marks the site of the monument of Sir THOMAS ERPINGHAM,

the "good Sir Thomas" of Agincourt (see § xxi.). It has long been destroyed. A chapel (St. Stephen's or St. Andrew's) was entered through the arch which remains in the opposite wall, and corresponded with the Beauchamp chapel in the south choir-aisle. No portion of this Chapel now remains. On the wall adjoining is the Elizabethan monument of Dame Elizabeth Calthropp, died 1582. The procession path is spanned by a bridge-chapel, accessible both from the altar platform by steps of which traces remain, and from the aisle by a newel staircase recently restored carried through the vault which supports the chapel. This vault, ribs and all, is of chalk, of Early Decorated character. It has evidently been lengthened at both ends. In the eastern bay is the quatrefoil hagioscope or squint, already noticed (§ xi.). In common with all mediæval arrangements the use of which was not immediately obvious, this opening was, in the last century, supposed to have been made for hearing confessions, and the vault bore the name of the "Confessionary." An examination of the levels completely disproves this hypothesis. Another hagioscope, now destroyed, is said to have commanded the altar from the south aisle. Ascending the restored spiral staircase it will be seen that the quadripartite vaulting of the chapel is decorated with painting. To the west, the Blessed Virgin, between St. Margaret and St. Catherine; to the east, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Paul; to the north, St. Martin, St. Nicholas,

and St. Richard; to the south, St. Edmund, St. Laurence, and a bishop wearing a sword, with Our Lord surrounded with natural foliage, the Thorn, in the centre. There was a reredos, which, with the parapets, had been "recently taken down" in 1735.

From this chapel there was access to a chamber above the destroyed chapel, known as "the Sanctuary men's chamber." The gallery over the vaulting in the aisle, according to Mr. Harrod, "might contain a pair of organs for assisting the service here and in Jesus Chapel adjoining^k."

XV. Immediately beyond this vault, is *Jesus Chapel*; one of the three apsidal chapels which terminated the Norman cathedral toward the east. It is formed by intersecting circles, like the corresponding chapel in the south aisle; the apse or eastern end being a smaller semicircle. Jesus Chapel was entirely altered during the Perpendicular period, when its present windows were inserted. The manner in which the original Norman arcade has been converted into a piscina and sedilia, deserves notice. An altar-piece formerly in this chapel is now preserved in the vestry (§ XII.). The original fresco painting, of Norman date, has been restored, "perhaps with too little reserve" (*Dean Goulburn*). The general effect is crude and staring. The win-

^k Churches and Convents of Norfolk, p. 293. The Easter sepulchre at Northwold, in the county of Norfolk, "has an arched aperture in a similar position to this quatrefoil, communicating with the sacristy adjoining."

dows are filled with stained glass by HARDMAN and POWELL "to the honour of the Blessed Lord and Saviour, and in memory of his good and kind master Edward Goulburn, Sergeant-at-law, to whom, under God, he owes what he has to offer, by John Bullivant, of Exeter." The table of the altar deserves notice. It consists of a slab of grey Barnack stone, with a piece of Purbeck marble inlaid, bearing, as well as the slab, five incised crosses, the whole supported on twisted marble shafts. The room above the Jesus Chapel, on the triforium level, has been converted into a museum of architectural fragments and archæological curiosities, including some elaborate semi-Norman fragments, some rich Renaissance terracotta bricks from a chimney in the Locutory, the doorway of Bishop Wakering's Chapel, &c.

XVI. The original arrangement of the *apse* is here seen at its back. The arches were filled with a stone screen, terminating about half-way up, and forming, on the inner side, a series of benches or sedilia for the clergy. The central arch had a stone chair or throne for the bishop, raised on steps at the back of the altar. (Portions of this throne still remain, walled up on the western side of the arch.) The side screens are ornamented at the back with an arcade of intersecting arches. At the back of the bishop's throne is a circular-headed recess. It has been suggested that Bishop Herbert Losinga, the founder, or Roger Bigod, Constable of Norwich Castle, whom Bishop Herbert seems to have regarded

as co-founder with himself, and who was certainly interred in the cathedral, may have been buried here.

The Early English doorway, a double arch, with a central shaft and quatrefoil above, recently opened, gave admission to the Lady-chapel, built by Bishop WALTER OF SUFFIELD (1245—1257), and destroyed by Dean Gardiner in the reign of Elizabeth. Its foundations, proving it to have been of considerable size, have been traced; as well as those of the apsidal Norman chapel, destroyed by Bishop Walter, which corresponded with those still remaining north-east and south-east.

Nearly opposite St. Luke's Chapel is an arched recess, which once contained the effigy of Prior Thomas Bozoun (died 1480). Above are painted three skulls, representing three ages of life, with *morieris* thrice repeated.

XVII. *St. Luke's Chapel*, in the south choir-aisle, resembles the Jesus Chapel opposite. It serves as the parish church of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh; and has been "restored," and filled with chairs, and contains two painted windows by HARDMAN. The *font*, of Perpendicular date, is much enriched with sculptures of the seven sacraments and the Crucifixion. These have been much mutilated, and the figures are headless. Above St. Luke's Chapel is the *Treasury* and *Muniment-room*.

A chapel, incorrectly called the *Beauchamp Chapel* (or *St. Mary the Less*), (a corruption of the name of the founder, William Bauchun, *temp.* Edward II., as

old as Sir Thomas Browne), opens south, next to St. Luke's. The south window of this chapel, of late Decorated, the Perpendicular canopied niche at the east end, which perhaps contained a statue of the Virgin to whom the chapel was dedicated, and the bosses of the groined roof, which illustrate her life, death, and assumption, the gabled piscina on the south wall, and the diaper painting of the walls,—should all be noticed. The Beauchamp Chapel has long served as the Consistory Court, and the rich groined vault, a century later than the fabric, is said to have been put up by one Seckington, an ecclesiastical lawyer who practised here.

Next to this chapel stood that of John Heydon, of Baconsthorpe (died *temp.* Edward IV.), an active adherent of the House of Lancaster.

In the last bay of this aisle was the entrance to Bishop Wakering's Chapel, long since entirely destroyed. It is said to have been used as the Chapter-house after the earlier one was pulled down. In some ill-advised repairs made about 1841 the entrance doorway, a fine Perpendicular design, was removed, and the compartment made to correspond with the Norman work, to the obliteration of a piece of history. In 1847, to the east of this door, above the ground level, a small anchorite's cell in the thickness of the wall is said to have been discovered, with a grated opening commanding the high altar. A similar cell was attached to the north choir-aisle at Peterborough Cathedral (see p. 114).

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THE PRIOR'S DOOR.

At the back of the choir, opposite this chapel, is a long stone seat, with panelled front, and small figures. It formed part of the monument of Bishop WAKERING (1416—1462), which was shattered during the rebellion.

XVIII. Crossing the south transept, which has been already described, we pass into the *cloisters* through a door at the north-east angle. They are among the most beautiful, and with the exception of Salisbury, are the largest in England. The roof, the bosses of which are covered with elaborate carvings, deserves the most careful examination.

The Norman cloister was destroyed in the fire of 1272; and the present structure was commenced by Bishop RALPH WALPOLE in 1297. It was continued, according to William of Worcester, by Bishop SALMON and others, between the years 1299 and 1325; and completed, by different benefactors, between the years 1403 and 1425. Mr. Harrod, however, seems to be perfectly justified in asserting that the cloisters were begun and completed during the Decorated period, and that the portions said by Worcester to have been built between 1403 and 1425 were in reality only repaired and altered at that period.

The *eastern and southern* walks are those assigned by William of Worcester to Bishops Walpole and Salmon, and said to have been built between 1297 and 1325. The *Prior's door* through which we pass into the cloister, is of this date, and of very unusual character [Plate VII.]. Under radiating canopies

which cross the mouldings of the arch, are sculptured—at the apex the Saviour in majesty, with an angel in the niche immediately below on either side; in the two lower niches on the west side, St. John the Baptist and Aaron (?) (this figure may perhaps represent an Archbishop with the pall and high mitre; smaller figures are placed under the feet of each); in those on the east side Moses and David. The Law and the Gospel, or the priesthood and the 'regale,' seem to be thus typified.

The large and beautiful windows of the east walk are all early Decorated, and, like the others in the cloister, were originally glazed in their upper portions. The bosses of the roof contain subjects from the four Gospels, together with some very beautiful knots of foliage. Three niches or sedilia, with canopies resting on four heads, of a peasant, a bishop, a king, and a priest, are now built up in the east wall, close without the prior's door. Their original use is unknown¹. In the sixth bay a door of very rich design, ornamented with crockets finials and cusps, now walled up, led into the 'slype,' or passage between the transept and chapter-house, destroyed when the south front of the transept was restored. The open arches beyond led into the chapter-house itself, which

¹ "A recess in the same position at Wenlock, having three lofty arches toward the cloister, was pointed out, at the visit paid to that priory by the Institute in 1854, as a specimen of the *Trisantia* of Ducange. Whether these were sedilia appropriated to a similar purpose or not, I am unable to say."—*Harrod, Churches and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 308.

has long been destroyed. The walled-up door beyond, with a well-worn entrance-step, was probably that leading to the staircase of the dormitory. The so-called "dark entry," a vault at the south end of this walk, formed an approach to the Infirmary, which stood southward of the cloister. Three bays of the southern arcade of this building are still standing, of Transition Norman. The Infirmary was turned into a workhouse for the poor in 1744. In 1804 it was pulled down, with the exception of the fragment still standing.

The *south walk*, built by Bishop SALMON (1299—1325), has a slight difference in the tracery of its windows, which are of more advanced Decorated character. The greater part of the bosses of the roof illustrate the Revelation of St. John. Other subjects are added, from sacred and legendary history. That engraved overleaf evidently represents the dedication of a church. At the angle of the south and west walks a very fine view of the cathedral and its spire is obtained. Here also the original disposition of the triforium may be seen. The roof sloped from close under the clerestory to the two worn Norman arcades in the exterior wall. All above these arcades is Decorated work.

The *west walk* is said by William of Worcester to have been built early in the fifteenth century^m; but

^m A curious error in the transcripts of William of Worcester led to much antiquarian discussion until it was recently cleared up by Mr. Harrod. Worcester was made to say that the walk



Boss in the Cloisters.

a careful examination of the windows will shew that they belong to the Decorated period, as do the piers and arches; although the whole walk is of later character than those east and south. Some alterations were, however, made here at the time mentioned by Worcester. The Refectory door which opens at the south end of the walk, is of this period. The north

from the Infirmary door to the arches "where the marriages hung" (*in quibus maritagia dependent*) was Bishop Salmon's work; the rest, "from the marriages" (*a maritagiis*), the work of other benefactors. Accordingly a boss representing Adam and Eve on either side of the tree, was long absurdly called the "Espousals," and thought to be Worcester's *maritagia*. Mr. Harrod, however, on examining the MS. found *manutergia* to be the true word. Worcester referred therefore to the arches above the lavatories *in quibus manutergia dependent*, "in which the towels hang."

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THE LAVATORIES IN THE CLOISTERS

wall of the Refectory remains perfect, with the range of Norman windows which originally lighted it on this side. The south wall has been destroyed above the height of nine feet. At the east end of the Refectory are some interesting Norman chambers preserving traces of decorative colours. These till recently, formed part of a prebendal house. The ancient *lavatories* [Plate VIII.], in the first two bays, have Perpendicular arches and niches at the back. In the next bay but one is a door which led into the Guesten hall, pulled down by Dean Gardiner; of which an Early English porch covered with ivy, and a fragment of an Early English window, remain in the adjoining garden. A door in the last bay next the nave opens into the *locutory* or *Parlour*, now the choristers' schoolroom, but till recently the kitchen of a prebendal house. It is a fine room of four bays, barrel-vaulted, divided by broad flat ribs. The eastern part is Norman, the western Early English, with windows in that style at the end.

The subjects from the Revelation are continued in the roof-bosses of this walk. The external face of this side of the cloister, towards the Close, is pierced with six rude circular windows with double splays, formed of flint; they are evidently of the same date as the wall, and are supposed by the Rev. J. Gunn to be of Saxon date. The interlacing Norman arcade on the eastern side of the wall, in the room above the cloister, has been evidently built on to an earlier wall.

The *north walk* of the cloister contains eight Perpendicular windows, set in Decorated frames; one early Decorated at the east end, and two late Decorated at the west. The bosses represent the legends of different saints, together with a few subjects from the New Testament. In the westernmost bay is the Monks' entrance into the church, a door of elaborate Perpendicular character, with tabernacles and statues carried up the jambs and over the head.

All the walks have an upper story, lighted by small windows looking into the quadrangle. That above the north walk is a mere wall, but the space behind it had formerly a lead roof.

XIX. The *exterior* of the central tower and spire may be well seen either from the south walk of the cloisters, or from the Lower close. The tower was gradually refaced 1845—1856; but its Norman arcades and ornamentation have been carefully preserved. The flanking turrets, with their reed-like shafts, are Norman as high as the foot of the spires which crown them. These spires are Perpendicular; as is the parapet of the tower itself. The arcades and circular openings of the tower may be compared with those of the Norman transeptal towers at Exeter,—which are, however, of somewhat later date. The *spire*, which rises gracefully between the pinnacles of the turrets, replaces one probably of wood covered with lead, which had been burnt by lightning in 1463, and was rebuilt by Bp. Lehart. Its height, from the battlements of the tower, is 169 feet. The entire height

from the ground is 313 feet,—exceeding that of the spire of Chichester (271 feet), and of Lichfield (258 feet), but falling much short of Salisbury (404 feet).

The face of the *south transept* has been re-cased by Salvin, a process which has deprived it of much of its antique character. The conical spires which terminate the square Norman flanking turrets are modern. At the same time the groined slype leading from the cloister eastwards and the picturesque Singing-school above it, were destroyed, a new south door opened, and the history of the building so far falsified.

The exterior of the *choir* is well seen from the Lower close. Flying buttresses, added at a later period, carried from the wall of the triforium, connect it with Bishop Percy's noble clerestory above (see § x.). Seated figures of the apostles form the pinnacles of the buttresses; and the clerestory itself, which is flat-roofed, is surrounded by a battlemented parapet. At the south-east and north-east angles of the choir project the Norman apsidal chapels formed of intersecting segments of circles, rising in two stories. A blind arcade passes round below the upper story, which has a second arcade of large and separated arches. Each chapel has three windows below; one at the east end, one to the west, and one looking respectively north and south.

The general view of the cathedral from the *south-east* [see *Frontispiece*] comprehends all these details. That from the *north-east* should be looked out for toward sunset, when a very fine effect is occasionally

produced. The visitor should pass beyond the Lower close, to the portion of the Precincts known as "Life's Green," and place himself as near as possible to the north wall of it. The various lines of the choir and transept, with trees clustering between them, and the tower and spire rising in the background, form a composition of unusual grace and beauty.

From the east end of the north transept projects a chapel in a ruinous condition, probably that of St. Osyth. It has long been used as a storehouse. It apparently resembled in every respect the eastern chapels of the choir. The vaulting, filled in with flints, and carried on even with the large Norman arch formerly opening from the transept, should be noticed. The east window was altered in the late Decorated period.

The *north transept* retains its ancient front. In a niche over the door is a statue said to represent the founder, Bishop Herbert.

XX. The *Bishop's palace*, which was formerly connected with the north transept by a vaulted passage, was founded by Bishop Herbert, but almost entirely rebuilt by Bishop SALMON (1299—1325). It has been much altered and added to at different times; but still contains some portions which may have belonged to Bishop Herbert's work. The vaulted cellars are curious. Bishop Salmon's great hall was destroyed after the Rebellion; at which time it was used by the Puritans as a "preaching-house." The entrance gatehouse, standing as an ivy-clad ruin in the garden, is the only portion remaining. The Bishop's chapel

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THE ERPINGHAM GATEWAY.

was built by Bishop Reynolds in 1662, across the south end of Bishop Salmon's hall. It contains the monuments of Bishop REYNOLDS himself (1661—1676), and of his successor, Bishop SPARROW (1676—1685), both of whom are buried in it.

XXI. The principal entrance to the palace is through a fine Perpendicular gateway, built by Bishop Alnwick about 1430. Its wooden doors bear the rebus of Bishop Le Hart. Far more interesting, however, are the two gateways leading into the Precincts; both of which deserve especial notice. The earliest is *St. Ethelbert's Gate* [*Title-page*], at the south end of the close; built by the citizens of Norwich as part of the fine for the disturbances of 1272, to replace the gatehouse then burnt by them. The lower part is accordingly good early Decorated. The upper portion, of intermixed flint and stone, was restored early in the present century. The chamber above the archway was, as a chapel, dedicated to St. Ethelbert. In the last century, it was used as the concert room of a tavern, to which use the gatehouse had been converted. In the spandrils of the principal arch are figures of a man with a sword and round shield, attacking a dragon. On the side towards the Close is a Decorated window, and some ancient flint panelling. The entire gateway is a good example of the period.

The second, or *Erpingham Gate* [Plate IX.], stands opposite the west front of the cathedral, and it is said by Blomefield to have been built by Sir Thomas Erpingham (Shakespeare's "white-headed" knight,

who fought at Agincourt), as a penance imposed on him by Bishop Spencer, on account of his former patronage of Wickliffe and the Lollards. The truth of this story, however, has been entirely disproved by Mr. Harrod. It seems to have arisen from the misreading of the word "yenk," think—answering to the "have mynde" or prayer for remembrance which appears on many brasses^a, which is placed on labels in front of the gate. This word was read by Blomefield as "pena," and on this slender foundation, together with the fact that Sir Thomas's statue above is "on his knees, as if begging pardon for his offence," the story of the penance was constructed. The arms of Sir Thomas and of his two wives appear on the gate; which therefore could not have been erected until after his second marriage, which took place about 1411. Bishop Spencer, who is said to have imposed the penance, had died in 1406.

The gatehouse itself "consists of a noble, well-proportioned arch, supported on each side by a semi-hexagonal buttress; arch, spandrils, and buttresses being covered with sculpture. The arch-mouldings are divided into two parts; the outer one containing a series of fourteen female saints, the inner one twelve male saints, admirably executed, with a light and elegant canopy over each. Four labels with the word 'yenk' are placed between the bases of the shafts of the main

^a The same motto, "yenk," "is placed several times in brass labels on a stone commemorating a Curzoun in Bylaugh Church."—*Harrod*.

archway, across clusters of oak-leaves and acorns, from which the pedestals of the lower figures emerge. The canopies are masses of luxuriant foliage, designed with the most exquisite skill. The spandrels contain the device of the Trinity on the left, the arms of Erpingham on the right. The buttresses are covered with shields and devices of the families of Erpingham, Clopton, and Walton (those of Sir Thomas Erpingham's wives), and bear on the top two figures of ecclesiastics. . . . The upper part of the gate is much plainer than the rest, and is of flint with stone dressings. In the centre, under a canopy of the same period as the other sculptured decorations, is a kneeling figure of Sir Thomas Erpingham*."

XXII. The open space west and north of the cathedral served as a general cemetery; and in it, on the left hand, between the Erpingham gate and the west door of the church, Bishop Salmon, about 1316, built a charnel-house, with a chapel of St. John the Evangelist above it. The chapel now serves as the *Grammar-school*; and the crypt, in which all bones fit for removal were "to be reserved till the day of resurrection," now serves, partly, as a playing place for the boys. In this crypt were two altars, of which traces remain. At one of them a mass was said daily for the souls of the founder and his family, for all bishops of the see, and for the souls of all those whose bones were carried thither. The porch by which the grammar-school is entered was added by Bishop Lehart,

* Harrod, p. 264.

(1446—1472), and deserves notice for its unusual character. Remark also the foiled openings (see woodcut) giving light to the crypt.



On the lawn opposite the school is a statue of Lord Nelson, who for a short time was a pupil here.

XXIII. The scanty remains of the monastic buildings which adjoin the cloisters have

already been noticed (§ XVIII.). The present *deanery*, a little east of the south-east angle of the cloister, contains some Early English portions, which probably belonged to the prior's apartments. On the north side is the Prior's Hall, lighted by two fine two-light windows of late thirteenth-century work, now used as the kitchen. A noble wide Perpendicular arch forms the entrance to a broad stone staircase leading to the principal apartments.

The *Chapter library*, which comprises a good collection of books (although without any that call for especial notice), is preserved in one of the buildings in the Precincts.

XXIV. The best distant views of the cathedral—which, however, are none of them very satisfactory—

are to be gained from the castle hill, from the new church at Thorpe, and from Mousehold-heath. Mousehold forms the high ground east of the city, and was the spot on which Kett, the "tanner of Wymondham," fixed his camp during the rising of the Norfolk peasantry in the reign of Edward VI.

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

AFTER the death, in the year 616, of Ethelbert of Kent, who had received and been baptized by St. Augustine, and partly in consequence, according to Bede, of the temporary apostacy of his son Eadbald, the Bretwaldaship, or predominating influence among the Anglo-Saxon princes, passed into the hands of Rædwald, King of the East Anglians. Rædwald, during a visit to Kent, had adopted Christianity, and had been baptized: but he afterwards relapsed into paganism, and gave a place in the same temple to the altar of Christ and to that of his ancient gods^a. It was whilst an exile at the court of Rædwald that Eadwin of Northumbria received the mysterious visit which prepared the way for his conversion by Paulinus after his restoration to the throne^b. This event belongs to the early history of the see of York; but it was not without influence on the kingdom of East Anglia. Eorpwald, the son of Rædbert, was converted by Christian missionaries

^a "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum; quod videlicet fanum, rex ejusdem provincie Alduulf, qui nostra ætate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse et se in pueritia vidisse testabatur."—*Bede, H. E.*, lib. ii. c. 15.

^b See the narrative in Bede, *H. E.*, ii. 12.

(possibly by Paulinus himself) sent into his kingdom by Eadwin. On the death of Eorpwald, East Anglia became once more heathen; but Christianity was finally established by Sigebert, brother of Eorpwald, who had been converted whilst an exile in Burgundy. About the year 630, FELIX, a Burgundian missionary to whom Sigebert may have owed his own conversion, was duly appointed by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the see of the East Anglians, among whom his labours seem to have been eminently successful. St. Augustine had landed on the coast of Thanet in 597; and East Anglia thus "assumes a regular place in the ecclesiastical scheme of England" little more than a quarter of a century later.

[A.D. 630—647.] FELIX established his see at Dummoc, or Dummoc-ceastre, now Dunwich, a seaport on the coast of Suffolk. Dummoc had been a Roman station, as is sufficiently proved by the remains which from time to time have been discovered there; and besides the advantage of its port, its walls may still have been strong enough to afford some protection. It was, moreover, connected with the interior by ancient, perhaps British, roads, which led in one direction toward Bury St. Edmunds, and in another toward Norwich. At Dummoc, Sigebert built a palace for himself, and a church for Felix: but soon after the establishment of the see he resigned his crown in favour of his kinsman Egric, and retired to a monastery which he had himself founded. In 635, during an invasion of East Anglia by the Mercians, under Penda, Sigebert was dragged unwillingly from his cloister, and compelled to be present on the battle-field; where, however, *professionis suae non immemor*, he refused to carry weapons, and was only distinguished by a rod (*virga*) which he held in his hand. Sigebert fell in this battle. In his kingdom, says Bede, "desiring to imitate those things which he had seen well arranged in Gaul, he founded a school in which boys might be taught letters, with the aid of Felix, the bishop whom he had received

from Kent, and who furnished them with pedagogues and masters, after the Kentish fashion." Bede gives no locality for this school; yet the passage, without the slightest reason, has been looked upon as recording the foundation of the University of Cambridge,—a place which, at that period, was not even within the limits of Sigeberht's kingdom.

Sigeberht was succeeded by Anna, father of Etheldreda, the sainted foundress of Ely (see that Cathedral), and of three other daughters, Sexburga, Ethelburga, and Wihtburga,—all of whom, at different periods, embraced the monastic life.

The successor of Felix in the see of Dummoc was—

[A.D. 647—652.] THOMAS, who had been his deacon, and who was a "Gyrwian," or inhabitant of the fenland.

[A.D. 652—669.] BERCTGILS, surnamed Bonifacius, a Kentishman, appointed by Abp. Honorius, and

[A.D. 669—673.] BISI, succeeded. Bisi was present at the council of Hertford, held under Abp. Theodore in 673, at which it was proposed to "increase the number of bishops as the number of the faithful increases." No determination was come to by the synod: but Bisi soon afterwards became incapable, from a severe illness, of discharging his episcopal functions, and Abp. Theodore proceeded accordingly to divide his diocese. A new see was established at *Elmham* in Norfolk, to which BADUWINI was appointed. Bisi was deposed, and the see of Dummoc was filled by ÆCCI.

[A.D. 673—870.] From the division of the East Anglian diocese to the year 870, in which occurred the great irruption of the Northmen and the martyrdom of St. Edmund, the sees of Dummoc and of Elmham seem to have been duly filled, although it is scarcely possible to establish the exact years of succession. Little more than the names of the bishops has been recorded. HUMBERT, Bp. of Elmham, is said to have fallen by the side of St. Edmund in battle with

the Danes (870). "Nor was there another bishop of East Anglia for more than eighty years, when Æthelwulf was consecrated by Archbishop Oda, and the two sees united in one. In fact, the compelled Christianity of Guthorm and his followers, whom Ælfred suffered to take possession of the country, did not hold out any very secure prospects to a bishop; and till some time after 921, paganism was very probably the profession of a majority in East Anglia^c."

[A.D. 956—1070.] From the consecration of Æthelwulf to that of Herfast, the first Norman bishop, East Anglia contained but a single see—that of *Elmham*. The will of Bp. THEODRED, who died about 975, has been printed by Kemble, and is a document of considerable interest; but of the remaining bishops we have little more than the names: and even of these the true arrangement is uncertain. EGELMAR, the last Bishop of Elmham, was the brother of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was deposed, together with him, in a synod held at Winchester in the year 1070. (See CANTERBURY—ABP. STIGAND). Stigand had himself held the East Anglian see for a short time, before the accession of Egelmar.

[A.D. 1070—1086.] HERFAST, one of the Conqueror's chaplains, partly in obedience to the decree of the council of London (1075), which ordered the removal of bishops' sees from villages (*villulæ*) to more important towns, transferred the East Anglian see from Elmham to *Thetford*, the Roman *Sitomagus*, and one of the principal towns of East Anglia before, and for some time after, the Norman Conquest. Malmesbury, however, who "gives Herfast but a moderate character, either for learning or hospitality," asserts that he made the change "*ne nihil facere videretur (ut sunt Normanni famæ in futurum studiōssimi* ^d.)" Herfast had

^c J. M. Kemble, "The Bishops of East Anglia," in the Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute.

^d De Pontif., lib. ii. There is reason to believe that the transfer

been a monk of Bec, and had obtained a considerable reputation for learning there, before the arrival of Lanfranc. Lanfranc exposed his entire ignorance, and drew upon himself in consequence the resentment not only of Herfast but of William of Normandy, which was not appeased without difficulty. Herfast seems to have retained the favour of William after the Conquest, since it was the King himself who placed him in the East Anglian see.

[A.D. 1086—1091.] WILLIAM DE BEAUFEU, one of the "King's Clerks," succeeded.

[A.D. 1091—1119.] HERBERT LOSINGA was the bishop who removed the see from Thetford, and fixed it permanently at *Norwich*, in accordance, apparently, with the original intention of the Conqueror.

The place of Bishop Herbert's birth is doubtful, but there is strong reason for believing him to have been born at a manor called Esham, in the hundred of Hoxne, in Suffolk. Educated probably as a Benedictine, he became Prior of Fécamp, in Normandy, and was brought thence to England by William Rufus, who appointed him his sewer, and made him Abbot of Ramsey. The chroniclers, with Malmesbury at their head, declare that he bought his bishopric for a sum of £1900, and that he purchased at the same time the abbacy of Winchester for his father. Verses recording the simoniacal dealings of the prelate have been preserved:—

"Proh dolor! Ecclesiæ nummis venduntur et ære;
Filius est Præsul, Pater Abbas, Simon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?"

But Malmesbury adds, that if Bishop Herbert sinned in his of the see to Thetford was only a temporary arrangement, and that the Conqueror from the first intended to fix it at Norwich. The Domesday Survey records at Norwich,—"*In the proper court of the bishop, 14 mansuræ which King William gave to Arfast for the principal seat of the bishopric.*" The reason for the temporary transfer to Thetford is quite uncertain.

earlier days, he amply redeemed his errors by his subsequent virtuous life and good deeds,—“*præ se semper, ut aiunt, ferens Hieronymi dictum, ‘Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.’*”

Herbert removed his see from Thetford to Norwich in the year 1094; and two years afterwards laid the first stone of the existing cathedral. (See Pt. I. § 1.) Norwich, the ancient *Venta Icenorum*, was then, as it still is, by far the most populous and important place in the eastern counties; and the site of the new cathedral was overlooked by the great Norman stronghold which Rufus had but just constructed on the highest ground within the city. A letter of Herbert's to his overseers, or *appares*, seems to describe the progress of the structure, and “delineates a lively picture of the hive of workmen at the cathedral:”—“*Languet opus, et in apparandis materiis nullus vester apparet fervor. Ecce regis et mei ministri fervent in operibus suis; lapides colligunt, collectos afferunt, campos et plateas, domos et curias implent; et vos torpetis.*” The church, however, was not entirely completed during Herbert's episcopate. (See Pt. I. § 1.) “Many passages in his epistles shew him to have laboured under infirm health during, at least, his latter years. . . . He appears, notwithstanding, to have been always ready to obey his Sovereign's call, or that of the church; and there are, I think, intimations that, with more vigour of constitution, he would have been the successor of Anselm at Canterbury. This mental activity led him, in 1116, to embark with Radulfus de Turbine, the new Archbishop, in an embassy to Rome, with a view of arranging the long-disputed points respecting investitures, and the legislative authority in England; but the exertion seems to have been fatal to him. On his return he fell sick at Placentia; and although he became, after some time, sufficiently convalescent to admit of his return by easy stages to Norwich . . . yet nature yielded on the 22nd of July, either of 1119 or of 1120 (for it is

uncertain which,) and he was buried before the high altar in his cathedral church." (*Harrod*, p. 241.)

The epithet *Losinga*, 'Flatterer,' was perhaps not applied to Bishop Herbert until after his death. His 'Epistles,' which are curious and interesting, although they throw little or no light on his own life, were recently discovered in a MS. belonging to the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and have been published (Bruxelles, 1845). The whole of the letters of Bishop Herbert have also been given to the world in an English dress, together with his Latin sermons, and a carefully prepared biography by Dean Goulburn, and the Rev. H. Symonds, the late Precentor of Norwich (Parker, 1878). They sufficiently prove that Herbert was a man of high literary attainments, and, for the most part, shew us a kind-hearted and benevolent prelate. One among them, however, addressed to the brethren at Thetford, in which he excommunicates "certain malicious persons who during last week have broken into my park at Humersfield, and killed in the night the only deer which I had there," indicates that Bishop Herbert could be fierce on occasion:—"May the flesh of those," he writes, "who eat my stag's flesh rot away as the flesh of Herod rotted, who shed innocent blood for Christ. . . Let them have the anathema maranatha unless they quickly repent and give satisfaction. Fiat! Fiat! Fiat! This excommunication I ordain, my beloved brethren, not because I pay much regard to one stag, but because I would have them repent and confess, and be corrected for such an offence*."

In addition to the cathedral of Norwich, and its adjoining priory, Herbert is said to have built five other churches; two at Norwich, one at Elmham, one at Lynn, and one at Yarmouth.

[A.D. 1121; deposed 1145.] EVERARD, Archdeacon of Salisbury, succeeded. He was the son by a second marriage of

* *Harrod*, p. 326

Robert of Montgomery, first Earl of Arundel. Previously to becoming bishop he had been chaplain to his predecessor, and to the king. Little is known of him, beyond the fact that in the year 1145 he retired from Norwich. According to Henry of Huntingdon he was deposed on account of his cruelty :—"Vir crudelissimus, et ob hoc jam depositus". The more probable account, given in the *Registrum Primum* of Norwich, is that, being greatly harassed by the civil war then going on, he presented to two powerful lords the towns of Blickling and Cressingham, belonging to his see, with the view of securing the remainder, and with the full intention of reclaiming them as soon as he could; and that for this act of sacrilege he had to quit his bishopric. The confession of his crime, made to Pope Eugenius IV. (1145-53), is printed by Dean Goulburn ("History of the See of Norwich," p. 88).

From Norwich, Bishop Everard retired to Fontenay, near Mont Bard, Côte d'Or, where he had built an abbey, the foundations of which were laid in 1139. "He fixed his retreat upon a mountain in the neighbourhood of the newly erected abbey, on the south side of which he caused a modest palace to be built, of which numerous ruins remain in a wood, with a walled-in park, and roads fenced by thick thorns." Everard died in 1150, and was buried under the great altar of the abbey church, where a monument was erected to his memory. The original stone with its inscription disappeared at a very early period, and it is believed to have been replaced soon after by another, with the following inscription :—"Hic jacet Dominus Ebrardus Norwicensis Episcopus, qui edificavit Templum istud *."

Bishop Everard had the true Norman instinct for building; and the nave of Norwich Cathedral is attributed to him. (Pt. I. § IV.) It was during his episcopate that the

* H. Huntingdon, *De Contemptu Mundi*, quoted by Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 408, (note).

* Harrod, from *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. v.

boy "St. William" was said to have been crucified by the Jews (March 22, 1144). His shrine formerly stood on the north side of the choir-screen. (Pt. I. § VII.) A similar story is localised in many other towns, both in England and on the Continent; some remarks on the amount of historical truth contained in the accusation against the Jews will be found in LINCOLN CATHEDRAL (Pt. II., BISHOP LEXINGTON), in whose time the murder of "sweet Hugh of Lincoln" took place according to Matthew Paris. [A.D. 1146—1174.] WILLIAM DE TURBE, a monk of the priory attached to the cathedral, was elected on the deposition of Everard. During his episcopate the church suffered much from fire. (Pt. I. § I.)

He was an intimate friend of the warlike Bishop Nigel of Ely, their confidential intercourse only ceasing with the death of the latter in 1174. In 1150, by royal command, the two prelates assembled in the palace gardens, with the abbots of St. Edmundsbury and Holm, and most of the East Anglian barons, for the purpose of trying Sir Robert Fitzgilbert, and others, for a conspiracy. The abbot of St. Edmund's pleaded their exemption from jurisdiction as knights of his. This plea was allowed, and the knights subsequently received the royal pardon. De Turbe was a warm partizan of Becket, at whose command, in 1167, he excommunicated Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, in defiance of the king's officers, who had been sent to prevent him. The Earl's lands were put under an interdict; and when, shortly after, some of the clerks in his retinue ventured to celebrate mass, they too were placed under excommunication. Tidings of these proceedings having reached the ears of Henry II. at Oxford, he was greatly incensed, and through his legates obtained an order from the Pope for immediate absolution the following year. Bishop De Turbe complied, but the next year (1169) he was summoned to answer before the king for the excommunication, together with Gilbert, Bishop of London, when

both received the royal pardon. Misfortunes clouded the Bishop's latter years. In 1172 the cathedral and conventual buildings were devastated by fire. Two years later (1174) Norwich was pillaged by Hugh Bigod and the Earl of Leicester; shortly after, Jan. 17, 1175, he died. "De Turbe's character," writes Dean Goulburn, "seems to have been a combination of extremes: at one time weak, at another determined; now indolent, now zealous; often cautious and calculating, but more frequently impulsive, and even fool-hardy—a weakness, however, which made it more loveable, because more human^a."

[A.D. 1175-1200.] JOHN OF OXFORD. He restored and completed the cathedral. (Pt. I. § 1.) John of Oxford (so called from his native place, where his father was a burgess) belonged to the class of statesman-bishops, and took a leading part in the political and ecclesiastical events of his day, especially in the controversy between Henry II. and Becket, in which he was the archbishop's most vigorous opponent. In this character he presided at the Council of Clarendon (1164), and was sent on an embassy to Pope Alexander III. at Sens, and to the Council of Wurtzburg. In 1165 he was made Dean of Salisbury, contrary to the injunction of Becket, by whom he was excommunicated. At the patching up of a reconciliation between Henry and Becket, 1166, he was sent to escort the archbishop to England. When the King of Scotland had fallen into Henry's power at the battle of Alnwick, John negotiated the treaty of Falaise (1175), by which Scotland became dependent on the English crown. As a reward for his services, he was made Bishop of Norwich, Dec. 14 of the same year. In 1176, the year following his elevation to the see of Norwich, he conducted the Princess Joanna, daughter of Henry II., to Sicily, where she married the King, William the Good. In 1179 the Bishop of

^a Goulburn, History of the See of Norwich, p. 174.

Norwich was appointed one of the Itinerant Justices for deciding civil and criminal pleas within the eastern counties, first appointed by Henry II.¹ In 1179 he was one of the English representatives at the third Lateran Council. In 1186 he assisted at the marriage of William of Scotland, and in the same year was present at the Council of Marlborough, and at that of Pipewell in 1189, after having taken part in the coronation of Richard I. In the general crusading fervour he took the cross and started with Richard for Palestine, 1190, but obtained exemption from the Pope. In 1191 he was present at the Council of Reading, when Longchamp was impeached; and in 1197 sat as Judge in the Court of Exchequer. He died June 2, 1200. He was a learned and a pious writer; and a list of his works, which were chiefly historical, is given by Bale.

[A.D. 1200—1214.] JOHN DE GRAY, was one of three bishops (the other two were Peter de Roches of Winchester and Philip of Durham) who, in spite of all the insults and oppressions heaped by King John on the Church and country, continued his firm partizans and the instruments of his exactions. John de Gray, who had been Archdeacon of Cleveland, and subsequently of Gloucester, and, in 1189, one of Henry the Second's Justices Itinerant, became Bishop of Norwich in the year 1202; and in 1208, on the death of Hubert Walter, was, by the King's influence, elected to the primacy. The monks of Canterbury, however, who had been divided into two parties,—one of which had chosen their sub-prior, Reginald,—appealed to Rome. Innocent III. annulled both elections, and appointed Stephen Langton. (See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.—ARCHBISHOP LANGTON.) The long quarrel between King John and the Pope, which produced the famous Interdict, and which terminated in the King's resignation of his crown to Pandulf, was the result.

¹ See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 337 (ed. 1855).

In 1211 Bishop de Gray was appointed Grand Justiciary of Ireland. In 1214 he died at St. Jean d'Angely, in Poitou, on his return from Rome. His body was brought to England, and interred in the cathedral at Norwich. The Interdict had ceased in the same year.

[A.D. 1222—1226.] PANDULF MASCA, the legate of Pope Innocent III.,—who had received King John's submission in the church of the Templars, and who had subsequently raised the Interdict,—was the next Bishop of Norwich. The see, however, had remained vacant for seven years (1214—1222), during the struggle between King John and his barons, and the commencement of the reign of Henry III. Pandulph, after his election, proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated by Pope Honorius III. The “practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy” had been commenced by John; but it attained its highest pitch during the long reign of Henry III., and after causing many popular outbreaks, was at last one of the grievances set forth by the revolted barons, under Simon de Montfort. “Pope Honorius writes to Pandulf, not merely authorizing, but urging him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a singular plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica. These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm; to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were blood-suckers, drawing out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents show that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil¹.”

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 308.

As Bishop of Norwich, Pandulf procured the grant to himself of the first-fruits (*primitiæ*) from all the ecclesiastical benefices in his diocese. His successors continued the same exaction until the accession of Bishop Ralph of Walpole in 1289. Pandulf died at Rome, Sept. 16, 1226, and was buried at Norwich.

[A.D. 1226—1236.] THOMAS BLUNVILLE, nephew of Hubert de Burgh, Lord Chief Justiciary, Clerk of the Royal Exchequer. After his death the see remained vacant for three years; when

[A.D. 1239—1244.] WILLIAM OF RALEY, Treasurer of Exeter and Prebendary of Lichfield, was appointed. In 1228 he was made a Justiciary, and (1231.—1235) was one of the Justices in Eyre. In 1244 he became bishop-elect of Winchester, and died at Tours in 1250. (See WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.)

[A.D. 1245—1257.] WALTER SUFFIELD, whose reputation in the University of Paris was considerable, succeeded. He is said to have been *totius divini ac humani juris peritissimus*, and was chosen accordingly by Pope Innocent to conduct a valuation of ecclesiastical revenues throughout England. "This valuation was entered upon record, called the Norwich tax, and was afterwards made use of upon the grant of subsidies and assessments of the clergy*." Bishop Walter built the hospital of St. Giles at Norwich, and added the Lady-chapel at the east end of his cathedral, pulled down by Dean Gardiner in the reign of Elizabeth. (See Pt. I. § 1.) During a great dearth, the Bishop sold much of the silver plate he possessed, and distributed the proceeds to the poor; among whom the reputation of his charity and great virtue became widely spread, and miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb in the Lady-chapel. He died at Colchester in 1257.

[A.D. 1258—1266.] SIMON OF WALTON. One of the King's

* Collier, Church History.

chaplains, but more of a lawyer than an ecclesiastic. He acted as one of the Justices Itinerant or in Eyre, 1246—1250, and in 1253 and 1255 was placed at the head of his Commission. In 1259, the year after his consecration, he was summoned to attend the King at Shrewsbury, for his Welsh campaign. He lived to see the battles of Lewes and Evesham, but died before the sack of Norwich by the outlawed barons in 1266, in the first few months of the episcopate of his successor,

[A.D. 1266—1278.] ROGER SKIRNYNG, a monk of the house.

During his episcopate much of the priory and portions of the cathedral church were greatly damaged by fire, which broke out during an attack on the priory by the citizens. Constant disputes between the monks and the men of Norwich concerning the right of the former to a toll on the merchandize brought to the great fair, held annually at the time of the festival of the Holy Trinity, at last broke into violence. Two accounts of this tumult have been preserved: the first by Bartholomew Cotton, a monk of the priory¹—which is, of course, the monastic history of it; the second in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* of the Corporation of London^m, probably obtained from communication with the Corporation of Norwich, and giving the version of the citizens. The two accounts differ much as to the causes which led to the fire, but nearly agree as to the amount of damage done by it. "Certain of them" (the citizens), says Cotton, "without the tower of St. George, with catapults, threw fire into the great belfry which was above the choir, and by this fire they burned the whole church, except the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which was miraculously preserved. The dormitory, refectory, strangers' hall, infirmary, with the chapel,

¹ See it in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 399.

^m This very curious account is given at length by Mr. Harrod, *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, pp. 250-253.

and almost all the edifices of the court, were consumed by fire." "As the fire waxed stronger," says the London account, "the belfry was burned, and all the houses of the monks, and also, as some say, the cathedral church; so that all which could be burned was reduced to ashes except a certain chapel, which remained uninjured." The roofs and ceilings, which were no doubt of wood, were at this time entirely destroyed; the Norman stone-work of the nave suffered little; that of the choir was probably more injured.

The year of this attack on the priory (1272) was the last year of the long reign of Henry III., who came to Norwich to investigate the affair, and who died at St. Edmundsbury after leaving the city. After long disputes, during which Norwich was placed under an interdict by the Bishop, Edward I. in 1275 decided that the citizens should, within three years, pay 3000 marks to the prior and convent, for the restoration of the church and other buildings; that the Corporation should give a golden pyx (?—"Unum vas aureum . . . ad tenendum Corpus Christi super altare") of ten pounds' weight for the high altar, and that the interdict should be at once removed". St Ethelbert's gate, usually said to have been built by the citizens in expiation of their attack on the priory, was probably built with the money thus paid. The King's decision permits the prior and convent to make their new entrance wherever they pleased*.

[A.D. 1278—1288.] WILLIAM MIDDLETON—in 1273 Vicar-General of Archbishop Kilwardby, and Dean of the Arches and Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in 1276 Archdeacon of Canterbury—dedicated the cathedral in the name of the Holy Trinity on the day of his enthronization, Edward I.

* Cotton, ap. *Angl. Sac.*, i. 400.

° "Dicimus insuper et ordinamus; quod dicti Prior et Conventus faciant ex quacunque parte voluerint introitum dicti Prioratus, absque damno vel præjudicio alieno."—Cotton, p. 401.

and his queen being present, with the Bishops of London, Hereford, and Waterford, and a large concourse of nobility. The roofs had by this time been restored. Bishop Middleton, who was distinguished as a canonist and civilian, was for some time Edward the First's Seneschal at Bordeaux; "*qui in esculentis et poculentis aliis præ cæteris magnatibus Angliæ ibi moram trahentibus, se exhibuit recomendatum*." He died at Terling, in Essex, and was buried in the Lady-chapel of the cathedral.

[A.D. 1289, trans. to Ely 1299.] RALPH WALPOLE, Archdeacon of Ely. (See ELY.) According to Blomefield, his election displeased the whole diocese, and his unpopularity was so great that everybody cursed the convent in general and the electors in particular. In 1298 he attended the marriage of the King's daughter Elizabeth to John Earl of Holland at Ipswich. The eastern walk of the cloister is attributed to Bishop Walpole.

[A.D. 1299—1325.] JOHN SALMON, Prior of Ely; Lord Chancellor from 1319 to 1323. "His career was more that of a counsellor in political affairs than that of an ecclesiastical administrator" (Goulburn). Bishop Salmon was one of the envoys sent to the Court of France to arrange the marriage of Edward II. with Isabella, "she-wolf of France." He proved a thoroughly loyal counsellor to his ill-fated King, and attended on him in his campaign against the Scots, 1311-12. In 1325 he went on an embassy to France, the fatigue and anxiety of which proved fatal to him. He died soon after landing from his voyage across the channel, at Folkestone Priory, July 6, 1325. Bishop Salmon built a hall and chapel for his palace at Norwich, together with the south walk of the cloister, and the chancel chapel, now the Grammar-school.

[A.D. 1325—1336.] WILLIAM AYERMIN; a most scandalous example of the time-serving, unprincipled Churchman,

greedy of preferment, true only to his own selfish and ambitious objects, destitute of principle, and incapable of gratitude. Few prelates have ever basked so long in royal favour, or obtained so many preferments in succession" (*Goulburn*). In early life we find him a junior clerk in the Chancery. In 1316 he became Master of the Rolls, and in 1324 Keeper of the Privy Seal. He held no less than twelve prebends in different cathedrals and collegiate churches. In 1319 he was taken prisoner by the Scots, and in 1324 was sent to treat with Robert Bruce. In 1825, while in Rome as ambassador, he was made Bishop of Norwich by papal bull in place of Robert Baldock, the elect of the monks. On the waning of Edward the Second's fortunes, in 1326, he transferred his allegiance to Isabella, and openly espoused her cause, receiving fresh honours and emoluments as the price of his treachery. In that same year he became Chancellor, and in 1331 Treasurer. He ended his disgraceful life in 1336.

[A.D. 1337—1343.] ANTONY BEK, nephew of Antony Bek, the powerful Bishop of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dean of Lincoln, and a retainer of the Pontifical Court; appointed, like Ayermin, by papal bull, against the wishes of the convent. "His reckless and imperious demeanour irritated all with whom he was officially connected. Not only his inferiors, but even those set over him, not excepting even the Primate himself, he treated with contempt" (*Goulburn*, p. 433). He resisted the Archbishop's claim to visit the cathedral, and raised the citizens against him. By his arrogant and despotic conduct he incurred the hatred of his monks, at whose instigation, it is said, his servants administered poison to him.

[A.D. 1344—1355.] WILLIAM BATEMAN, a native of Norwich, of which his father was a distinguished citizen, educated at Cambridge; in 1328 he was made Archdeacon of Norwich by Ayermin, and in 1343 became Dean of Lincoln;

and about the same time went as ambassador of the Kings both of England and France to the Court of Rome. He was chosen Bishop of Norwich at the same time, both by his own convent and by the Pope. He proved a vigorous defender of the rights of his see, compelled Robert, Baron of Morley, who had broken into certain of the Bishop's parks, to perform public penance, in spite of the King's threatening letters. Bishop Bateman died at Avignon, where, with Henry Duke of Lancaster and other nobles, he had gone on an embassy from Edward III., to arrange, under the presidency of Pope Innocent VI., the English claims to certain portions of French territory. During his episcopate more than fifty-seven thousand persons are said to have perished in Norwich alone, from the plague called the "Black Death." Following the examples of Walter de Merton (see *ROCHES-TER CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.,) at Oxford, and of Hugh de Balsam, Bishop of Ely, at Cambridge (see *ELY CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.), Bishop Bateman founded Trinity Hall at Cambridge, for the study of civil and canon law.¹

[A.D. 1356—1369.] THOMAS PERCY, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, intruded by the Pope at the instance of Henry Duke of Lancaster, though only twenty-two years of age. During his episcopate the spire of the cathedral was struck by lightning, and the masses of stone which fell from it did serious mischief to the choir, of which the clerestory was rebuilt in its present graceful form by him.

[A.D. 1370—1406.] HENRY SPENSER, grandson of the favourite of Edward II., had been, with an elder brother, in the pay of the Pope, Hadrian V., during his war with Bernabo Visconti of Milan. By the Pope he was named Bishop of Norwich; and he brought with him to England the love of arms, and the skill in the use of them, which had in effect procured him his bishopric. During the insurrections of 1381, whilst Wat Tyler and his followers advanced on London, the men of Norfolk and Suffolk rose in great force,

and made Litster, a dyer of Norwich, their captain. "Spenser, the young and martial Bishop of Norwich . . . at the head of eight lances and a few archers, boldly arrested one of the ringleaders. A few knights gathered round him. Armed from head to foot, with a huge two-handed sword, he attacked an immense rabble, hewed them down, put the rest to flight, seized the captain, a dyer of Norwich, and reduced his diocese to peace by these victories, and by remorseless executions^a." "A a later period, when the Lollards, by preaching against pilgrimages, endangered the interests of Our Lady of Walsingham, Bishop Spenser swore that if any of Wycliff's preachers came into his diocese, he would burn or behead him. 'Faith and religion,' says Walsingham, 'remained inviolate in the diocese of Norwich'."

In 1315, the ninth year of Richard II., "just at the time when the schism had shaken the Papacy to its base, and Wycliff had denounced both popes alike as Antichrist, and had found strong sympathy in the hearts and minds of men . . . for the first time a holy civil war is proclaimed in Christendom, especially in England, the seat of these new opinions—a war of pope against pope. The Pontiff of Rome promulgates a crusade against the Pontiff of Avignon." The Papal schism had commenced in 1375, when Robert of Geneva, by the influence of France, was elected pope in opposition to Urban VI.: Robert took the name of Clement VII. France and Scotland were at first the only adherents of Clement. In the autumn and winter of 1382, however, Flanders had been invaded by the young King of France, Philip Van Artevelde had fallen at Roosebecque, and the country had been compelled to submit to Charles VI., who obliged all the conquered towns to recognise Clement VII. as Pope. Accordingly, the Bishop of Norwich directed his crusade against Flanders, as being then in effect French

^a Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. vi. p. 133.

^r *Id.* vi. 134 (note).

territory". "Public prayers are put up, by order of the Primate (William Courtenay), in every church of the realm, for the success of the expedition into Flanders. The bishops and the clergy are called on by the Archbishop to enforce on their flocks the duty of contribution to this sacred purpose. Money, jewels, property of all kinds, are lavishly brought in, or rigidly extorted; it is declared meritorious to fight for the faith, glorious to combat for the Lord. The same indulgences are granted as to crusaders in the Holy Land."

"But, after all, the issue of the expedition, at first successful, was in the end as shameful and disastrous as it was insulting to all sound religious feeling. The Crusaders took Gravelines; they took Dunkirk; and this army of the Pope, headed by a Christian bishop, in a war so-called religious, surpassed the ordinary inhumanity of the times. Men, women, and children were hewn to pieces in one vast massacre. After these first successes, the London apprentices, and the villains throughout the kingdom, were seized with a crusading ardour. They mounted white cloaks, with red crosses on their shoulders, red scabbards to their swords, and marched off defying their masters. Many religious, monks and friars, followed their example. The Crusaders

* A very full and interesting account of the crusade will be found in M. Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Histoire de Flandre*, vol. ii. (ed. 1853).

† Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 132. The form of absolution is thus given by Collier (*Eccles. Hist.*, bk. vi. cent. 14), from Knighton. "By apostolical authority committed to me for this purpose, I absolve thee, A.B., from all thy sins confessed, and for which thou art contrite; and from all those which thou wouldest confess, provided they occurred to thy memory. And, together with the full remission of thy sins, I grant thee the assurance of the reward of just persons in the life to come. I grant thee, moreover, all the privileges of those who undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, and the benefit of the prayers of the Universal Church, either met in synod or elsewhere."

had neither the pride nor consolation of permanent success. The army of Spenser returned as ingloriously as it had conducted itself atrociously. He had 60,000 men, besides auxiliaries from Ghent. Before Ypres he failed shamefully. At the first approach of the French army he withdrew to Gravelines, and was glad to buy a safe retreat by the surrender of the town."

It need hardly be said that the crusade of Bishop Spenser was more an affair of policy than of religion, and that it was mainly the result of hostility between France and England. On the failure of the expedition, the young King, Richard II., in a frenzy of rage, ordered the temporalities of the see of Norwich to be seized, on pretence that the crusade had been countermanded by the King's writ when it was on the point of sailing, and that the Bishop had taken no notice of the writ. The temporalities were soon restored; but a few years later a suit was preferred against him in the Court of Chancery, in which the Bishop came off victorious. On the accession of Henry IV., Bishop Spenser, with other enemies of the Duke of Lancaster, was thrown into prison; but in 1401 "his ability, his services, and his manifest popularity with the people, made it convenient to Henry to grant him his pardon" (*Goulburn*, p. 454). In the same year the statute "*de hæretico comburendo*" was passed, which Spenser declared he would put in force with the utmost rigour against any Lollards who might be found within his jurisdiction; he would "make them either hop headless, or fry a faggot." He was taken ill suddenly while performing matins, and died Aug. 23, 1406.

[A.D. 1407—1413.] ALEXANDER TOTTINGTON, Prior of the convent, whose election was opposed by the King, was at last consecrated at Gloucester, Oct. 23, 1407.

[A.D. 1413—1415.] RICHARD COURTENAY, second son of

^a Milman, Latin Christianity.

Philip Courtenay, son of Hugh, Earl of Devon, and nephew of Archbishop Courtenay. Preferments fell thickly upon him. In 1402 he was made Dean of St. Asaph; 1403, Canon of York; 1408, Canon of Wells; 1409, Dean of that cathedral; and in 1407, Chancellor of Oxford. He accompanied Henry V. on his expedition to France, and died at the siege of Harfleur. He was brought to Westminster Abbey for interment.

[A.D. 1416—1425.] JOHN WAKERING, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Master of the Rolls, and Keeper of the Privy Seal: was present at the Council of Constance, 1414.

[A.D. 1426, trans. to Lincoln 1436.] WILLIAM ALNWICK, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Archdeacon of Salisbury. His works in the cathedral have been noticed, Pt. I. § III. (LINCOLN.)

[A.D. 1436—1445.] THOMAS BROWN, Dean of Salisbury, was translated to Norwich from Rochester, during his absence at the Council of Basle. He stood firmly for the liberties of his Church against the citizens of Norwich.

[A.D. 1445—1472.] WALTER HART, or LE HART, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, confessor to Margaret of Anjou, was sent by Henry VI. to Savoy, on a mission to the Antipope Felix, and had some share in inducing him to abdicate,—by which act the long papal schism was at last closed. Bishop Walter's work in the cathedral has been noticed (Pt. I. § v.).

[A.D. 1472—1498.] JAMES GOLDWELL, ambassador of Edward IV. at the Papal Court, Archdeacon of Essex, and Dean of Salisbury. Little is recorded of him beyond his great work in the choir of his cathedral, noticed at Pt. I. § x. His tomb, with effigy, remains on the south side of the choir (Pt. I. § xi.).

[A.D. 1499—1500.] THOMAS JANE, Fellow of New College, Oxford.

[A.D. 1501—1536.] RICHARD NYKKE, or NIX, "a person of very slender character," in Collier's words, succeeded; who, says Godwin, "in spite of his name, had little of snow in

his breast." Bishop Nykke had been Archdeacon of Exeter and Canon of Windsor. He took the oath of supremacy, and, according to Fox, five persons suffered in his diocese on this account, and on the question of transubstantiation. Toward the end of his life Nykke became blind, and was said "to have offended the King (Hen. VIII.) signally by some correspondence with Rome, and was kept long in the Marshalsea, and convicted, and cast in a *præmunire*.*" "But this relation," says Collier, "goes only upon conjecture, and looks improbable, even from Nix's age and behaviour, for he was a very old man, and had been blind for many years; and as he could have no prospect of advantage from such a correspondence, so neither did he manage like one that would risk his fortune for any religion. . . . The true cause of his conviction and imprisonment was this: the town of Thetford, in Norfolk, made a presentment upon oath, before the King's judges, in proof of their liberties. . . . The Bishop taking this as a check upon his jurisdiction, cited Richard Cockerell, Mayor of Thetford, and some others, into his court, and enjoined them, under penalty of excommunication, to summon a jury of their town, and cancel the former presentment. For this the Bishop was prosecuted in the King's Bench, cast in a *præmunire*, and had judgment executed upon his person and estate, pursuant to the statute. This was done in the beginning of the year 1534. The King afterwards, upon his submission, discharged him out of prison; however he was not pardoned without a fine, with part of which it is said the glass windows of King's College Chapel in Cambridge were purchased."

In his own cathedral Bishop Nykke constructed the existing roofs of the transept (Pt. I. § XII.); and arranged his own chantry in the nave (Pt. I. § VI.).

[A.D. 1506, resigned 1550.] WILLIAM RUGG, or REPPS, Abbot of St. Bennet of Holm, which abbacy he retained with the bishopric. During the vacancy of the see "the King took

* Burnet.

† Eccles. Hist., Pt. II. bk. ii.

into his own hands all the manors of the bishopric. For the seizing this large endowment there was nothing given in exchange but the Abbey of St. Benet's in the Holm, the Priory of Hickling in Norfolk, and a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Stephen's, Westminster. This exchange was confirmed in Parliament*."

The Bishop of Norwich, in right of this exchange, is still titular Abbot of Holm.

Bishop Rugg alienated much of the diminished property of the see,—no doubt to his personal advantage; but on complaints made to the King (Edward VI.) he was compelled to resign the bishopric,—paying a fine of £900, and retaining a pension of £200 for life. Leland the antiquary, who was intimately acquainted with him, describes Bishop Rugg as "a spotless man, and a most accomplished theologian." The Norwich priory was finally suppressed after his accession, and the Dean and Chapter duly installed in its place.

[A.D. 1550, trans. to Ely 1554.] THOMAS THIRLEY, the first and last Bishop of Westminster. (See ELY.)

[A.D. 1554—1558.] JOHN HOPTON, Chaplain to Queen Mary: at whose death he is said to have died of grief. Many Protestants suffered in his diocese during his episcopate.

[A.D. 1560—1575.] JOHN PARKHURST, born at Guildford in Surrey; the tutor of Bishop Jewel, and an exile with him. He is said to have "repaired and beautified" his palace at Norwich, where he died. His tomb without the brasses, remains in the nave. (Pt. I. § VI.)

[A.D. 1575, translated to Worcester 1584.] EDMUND FREAK, translated to Norwich from Rochester.

[A.D. 1585—1594.] EDMUND SCAMBLER, translated from Peterborough. Bishop Scambler alienated much at Peterborough (see that Cathedral, Pt. II.); and did the same at Norwich. His monument was destroyed by the Puritans.

* Eccles. Hist. Pt. II. bk. ii.

[A.D. 1594—1602.] WILLIAM REDMAN, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1602—1617.] JOHN JEGON, Master of Bene't College, Cambridge.

[A.D. 1618—1619.] JOHN OVERALL, translated from Lichfield; "a discreet presser of conformity in his diocese," says Fuller; and one of the most learned of English controversialists. He had the character, according to Antony Wood, of being the "best scholastic divine in the English nation." He was the correspondent of Grotius and Gerard Vossius; but it is best known in England by his so-called "Convocation Book," written, says Bishop Burnet, "on the subject of Government, the divine institution of which was very positively asserted." The treatise, which consists partly of canons and partly of introductory and explanatory dissertations on the matter of the canons, was duly sanctioned in the Convocation of 1610; but it "did not see the light until many years after it was composed, when it was published by Archbishop Sancroft, to justify the principles of the Nonjuring party. It was, however, a strange oversight in Sancroft's party to publish the book, as there are several canons in it which clearly lay down that a *de facto* government is, when completely established, to be held in the light of a *de jure* government; and it was upon the very grounds set forth in this book, that Dr. Sherlock took the oaths to King William*."

The composition of the latter part of the Catechism (containing an explanation of the Sacraments) is generally attributed to Bishop Overall. "It was added (in 1604) by royal authority, 'by way of explanation,' in compliance with the wish which the Puritans had expressed at the Conference at Hampton Court; and with two emendations was afterwards confirmed by Convocation and Parliament in 1661^b."

* Perry's History of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 178.

^b Procter on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 391.

The monument for Bishop Overall, erected by his secretary, Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, has been already noticed (Pt. I. § XI.). In the inscription he is declared to be "Vir undequaque doctissimus, et omni encomio major."

[A.D. 1619, translated to York 1628.] SAMUEL HARSNET.

[A.D. 1628, translated to Ely 1631.] FRANCIS WHITE.

[A.D. 1632—1635.] RICHARD CORBET, born at Ewell in Surrey, was translated to Norwich from Oxford. Corbet was a distinguished wit; and although one of the bishops who carried out the Laudian discipline with a high hand, was scarcely himself an example of religious living. He could not restrain his facetiousness even on the most solemn occasions. "One time, as he was confirming," says Aubrey^c, "the country people pressing in to see the ceremony, said he, 'Bear off there, or I will confirm ye with my staff.' Another time, being to lay his hand on the head of a man very bald, he turns to his chaplain, and said, 'Some dust, Lushington,'—to keep his hand from slipping. The Bishop sometimes would take the key of the wine-cellar, and he and his chaplain would go and lock themselves in and be merry. Then, first he lays down his episcopal hat—'There lies the Doctor.' Then he puts off his gown—'There lies the Bishop.' Then 'twas, 'There's to thee, Corbet,' and 'Here's to thee, Lushington.'"

A more favourable character is given of Bishop Corbet by Fuller, who calls him "an high wit and most excellent poet, of a courteous carriage, and no destructive nature to any who offended him, counting himself plentifully repaired with a jest upon him^d." His poems, which are noticeable as illustrations of the period, were published after his death, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, 1648.

[A.D. 1635, translated to Ely 1638.] MATTHEW WREN. (See ELY CATHEDRAL, Part II.)

^c Lives, ii. 203, quoted in Perry's History of the Church of England.

^d Worthies—Surrey.

[A.D. 1638—1641.] RICHARD MONTAGUE, translated from Chichester. For a sketch of Bishop Montague's life, which, happily for himself, ended before the breaking out of the Civil War, see CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL, Part II.

[A.D. 1641—died 1656.] JOSEPH HALL, translated to Norwich from Exeter. A short life of this excellent bishop will be found in EXETER CATHEDRAL, Part II. To the notices there quoted may be added "the eloquent tribute of the venerable Bishop Morton to the merits of his friend: 'God's visible, eminent, and resplendent graces of illumination, zeal, piety, and eloquence, have made him truly honourable and glorious in the Church of Christ.'"

In December, 1641, Bishop Hall, with the Archbishop of York and eleven other prelates, was committed to the Tower, for protesting against the validity of laws passed during the enforced absence of bishops from Parliament. He was soon afterwards released on giving security for five thousand pounds, and returned to Norwich, where he remained unmolested until April 1643. His property was then sequestered as that of a "notorious delinquent." He was expelled from his palace, and treated with all possible insult, till he withdrew to the parish of Heigham, where he was permitted to remain in comparative security until his death, in 1656. The present "Dolphin Inn" at Heigham—a house with the date 1615 on its front—was the residence of Bishop Hall; who was buried in the adjoining church. His monument with a "cadaver," an emblem then greatly affected, still remains.

In his "Hard Measure" Bishop Hall has given the story of his sufferings; and from it the following picture of the desecration of the cathedral is extracted:—"It is tragical to relate the furious sacrilege committed under the authority of Linsey, Toffs the sheriff, and Greenwood:

* Quoted in Perry's History of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 629.

what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing down of monuments, what pulling down of seats, and wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves; what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world but of the cost of the founder and skill of the mason; what piping on the destroyed organ-pipes; vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawed down from over the greenyard pulpit, and the singing-books and service-books, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany. The ordnance being discharged on the guild-day, the cathedral was filled with musketeers, drinking and tobaccoconing as freely as if it had turned ale-house."

[A.D. 1661—1676.] EDWARD REYNOLDS, who had joined the Presbyterian party during the Civil War; afterwards became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Norwich. He was accused of deserting his party for preferment; but Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*) gives him a high character; and his works have often been reprinted. He was interred in the chapel of his palace at Norwich.

[A.D. 1676—1685.] ANTONY SPARROW, was translated from Exeter. Bishop Sparrow, the well-known author of the "Rationale upon the book of Common Prayer," was born at Depden, in Suffolk. At Norwich, according to Blomefield, he obtained the "praise and commendation of all men." Little is recorded of his public life, either here or at Exeter.

[A.D. 1685, deposed 1691.] WILLIAM LLOYD, had been successively Bishop of Llandaff and Peterborough. He was deposed as a Nonjuror, and lived at Hammersmith until his death in 1710.

[A.D. 1691, translated to Ely 1707.] JOHN MOORE.

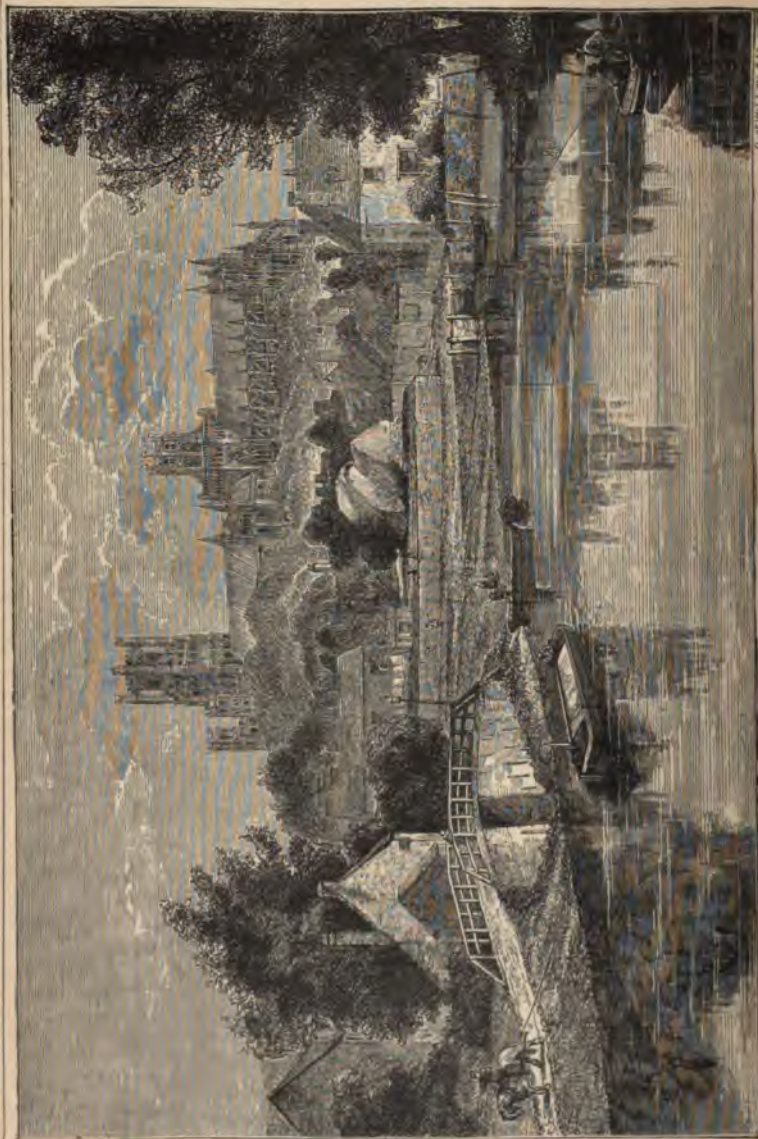
- [A.D. 1708, translated to Winchester 1721.] CHARLES TRIMMELL.
- [A.D. 1721, translated to Ely 1723.] THOMAS GREEN.
- [A.D. 1723—1727.] JOHN LENG.
- [A.D. 1727—1732.] WILLIAM BAKER, translated from Bangor.
- [A.D. 1733, translated to Ely 1738.] ROBERT BUTTS.
- [A.D. 1738, translated to Ely 1748.] SIR THOMAS GOOCH, translated to Norwich from Bristol.
- [A.D. 1748—1749.] SAMUEL LISLE, translated from St. Asaph.
- [A.D. 1749, translated to London 1761.] THOMAS HAYTER, Preceptor to George III.
- [A.D. 1761—1783.] PHILIP YOUNG, translated from Bristol.
- [A.D. 1783, translated to St. Asaph 1790.] LEWIS BAGOT, translated from Bristol.
- [A.D. 1791—1792.] GEORGE HORNE, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1768, Dean of Canterbury 1781, author of "A Commentary on the Psalms," and Sermons which obtained great celebrity; also of "Letters on Infidelity."
- [A.D. 1792, translated to Canterbury 1805.] CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON.
- [A.D. 1805—1837.] HENRY BATHURST.
- [A.D. 1837—1849.] EDWARD STANLEY. A Memoir of Bishop Stanley has been published by his son, A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Second Edition, 1880.
- [A.D. 1849, resigned 1857.] SAMUEL HINDS, Dean of Carlisle 1848—1849.
- [A.D. 1857.] JOHN THOMAS PELHAM.



100

FRONTISPIECE.

ELY CATHEDRAL



GENERAL VIEW, FROM THE SOUTHEAST

ELY CATHEDRAL.



THE PRIOR'S DOOR.

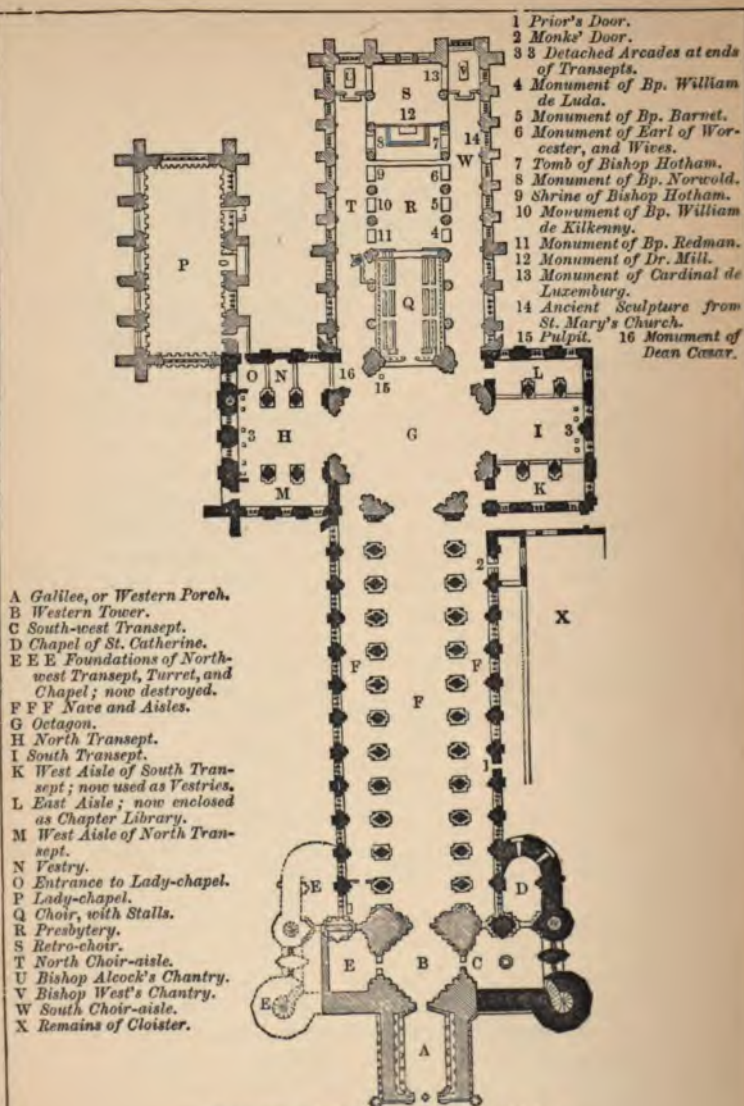
1870

ELY CATHEDRAL.

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GROUND-PLAN, ELY CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft to 1 in.

ELY CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE foundations of the existing Cathedral of Ely were laid by SIMEON, the first Norman abbot (1082—1094) of the great Benedictine monastery established about the year 970 by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, on the site of the convent of St. Etheldreda, which had been destroyed by the Northmen. (See Pt. II.) Simeon, who was by birth related to the Conqueror, had been Prior of Winchester, and was the brother of Walkelin, first Norman bishop of that see, who also re-built his cathedral.

The church thus commenced was so far completed by Simeon's successor, Abbot RICHARD (1100—1107), that he was able to translate into it from the Saxon church the bodies of St. Etheldreda (to whom, conjointly with St. Peter, the building was dedicated*), and of the other three sainted abbesses, her sisters

* "Ecclesiam suam a prædecessore suo inceptam ædificavit."
—*Thomas Eliensis, Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 613. This may either mean that he completed the church (which was subsequently enlarged and altered); or—which is more probable—that he only completed the choir and transepts. It is certain that the nave is of much later date than the time of Abbot Richard.

St. Sexburga and Withburga, and her niece St. Ermenilda. No further record exists of the progress of the work until Bishop GEOFFREY RIDEL (1174—1189) is mentioned as having "completed the new work to its western end (*usque occidentem*), together with the tower nearly to the summit." Bishop EUSTACE (1198—1215) built a *Galilee* (or *western porch*). Bishop HUGH OF NORTHWOLD (1229—1254) pulled down the Norman presbytery, and extended it six bays eastwards in seventeen years, 1235—1252. In the year 1322, during the episcopate of JOHN HOTHAM (1316—1337), Abbot Simeon's central tower fell; as his brother Wakelin's at Winchester had fallen in 1107. The *octagon*, by which the tower was replaced, was commenced in the same year (1322), and completed in 1328: the *lantern* above it, begun in 1328, was finished in 1342. The *western* portion of Bishop Hugh's *choir*, which had been ruined by the fall of the tower, was rebuilt, chiefly at the expense of Bishop Hotham, who, at his death, left money for the purpose. The work was commenced in 1338. The *Lady-chapel*, the erection of which was mainly due to JOHN OF WISBECH, a brother of the monastery, was commenced in 1321, and completed in 1349. *Chantries* at the eastern ends of the choir-aisles were built by Bishop ALCOCK (1483—1500) and Bishop WEST (1515—1553).

From these dates it will be seen that the cathedral contains examples of the different periods of Gothic architecture, from early Norman to late Perpendicular. The chroniclers of the abbey have recorded the exact

date of nearly every portion of the building; which thus acquires the highest possible value and interest for the student of architecture. Nor are the examples which it affords anywhere exceeded in beauty or importance. The Galilee and eastern portion of the choir take rank among the very best works of the Early English period; whilst the octagon, the western choir, and the Lady-chapel are probably the finest examples of pure Decorated to be found in England. It should also be mentioned here, that the restoration of the cathedral, commenced by the late Dean PEACOCK, and carried on by his successors, Deans GOODWIN (the present Bishop of Carlisle) and MERIVALE, is one of the most perfect and elaborate that has anywhere been attempted. The whole was under the direction of the late Sir G. G. SCOTT.

The church is built throughout of stone from Barnack in Northamptonshire. Purbeck marble is used extensively for decorative shafts and capitals; and some of the interior mouldings and ornaments are worked in a soft white stone, called "clunch," found in the neighbourhood of Ely.

II. Ely Cathedral, which measures 537 feet from the exterior of the west porch to the exterior eastern buttresses, is one of the longest Gothic churches in Europe; although others (as for example the cathedral of Milan) cover much more ground. Owing probably to its situation, no very important town ever rose up about the monastery. The houses which line the streets are unusually small and low; and the long ridge of

the cathedral roofs with their towers and pinnacles lifts itself above them on every side. Other English cathedrals form only part of the cities in which they stand: here the cathedral is in fact the town; and nowhere else perhaps in England is there so complete and suggestive a picture of what a great monastery—such as Glastonbury or Melrose—must have resembled whilst its buildings were yet entire, and its church formed a landmark for all the surrounding district.

III. Leaving the exterior and the best general points of view (§ xxxv.) for the present, we enter the cathedral by the *Galilee* or *western porch*. [Plate I.]. Mr. Essex, the architect employed by the Dean and Chapter in the extensive repairs of the cathedral carried on in the latter half of the last century, advised the demolition of the Galilee and south-western transept as “neither useful nor ornamental, and not worth preserving^b.” Happily his advice was not taken in either instance. The Galilee is usually attributed to Bishop Eustace (1198—1215), but though there is no doubt that this prelate did erect a “Galilee” at the west end^c, the character of the architecture forbids us to regard the present Galilee as his work. It certainly exhibits a fuller development of the Early English style than the work of Bishop Northwold, which was not commenced till nearly twenty years after Bishop Eustace’s death. The thickness of the walls and other

^b Report, MSS. Essex, ii. 261, Add. MSS. British Museum.

^c “Ipse construxit a fundamento novam galileam ecclesie Eliensis versus occidentem sumptibus suis.”—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 634.



G. SWIFT DEL.

INTERIOR OF THE GALILEE PORCH

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marks, more evident in Bentham's day than now, render it not improbable that the present Galilee was a transformation, in a later and more highly ornamental style, of the plainer work of the earlier prelate. The main arch of entrance circumscribes two smaller foliated ones, which spring from a central group of shafts, the intermediate space being filled with tracery. Above the entrance is a triplet window, originally lighting a room above the porch. The high-pitched roof was lowered by Essex. The outer walls, north and south, are lined by four tiers of arcades, the two uppermost of which have foliated arches.

Within, the porch, which is 43 feet in length, consists of two bays, simply vaulted. The wall of each bay is divided into two stories by arcades, very gracefully disposed. Remark especially the excellent effect given to the lower arcade by its divisions of outer and inner arches, and by the effective manner in which the front shafts intersect the arches of the arcade behind them in somewhat the same manner as in the wall-arcades of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln. The same idea is also more fully carried out in the tabernacle-work of the Lady-chapel. The outer arches are enriched with the dog-tooth moulding. The arch through which the cathedral is entered, is divided, like the arch of entrance to the porch, into two, by a group of shafts. The rich exterior mouldings and the leafage of the capitals of the shafts should all be noticed. The whole has been restored, with the addition of columns of polished serpentine and oaken doors, with iron scroll

work, at the cost of Mrs. Waddington, of Twyford, Hants.

The name *Galilæa*, 'Galilee,' applied to this western porch by the chroniclers of Ely, is used elsewhere, as at Lincoln and Durham, to denote additions of somewhat less sacred character than the rest of the building; perhaps in allusion to "Galilee of the Gentiles." The Galilee at Durham forms a large chapel at the west end of the nave, and was appropriated to the use of women, who were not permitted to advance into the actual church of the stern St. Cuthbert.

IV. Entering the cathedral, the visitor finds himself within the great west tower, through the eastern arch of which a superb view is commanded up the nave [Plate II.], past the arches and graceful tracery and rich hues of the lantern, and beyond the elaborate screen, to the coloured roof of the choir and the stained glass of the distant eastern windows.

The tower, originally the work of Bishop GEOFFREY RIDEL (1174—1189^d), was much altered and strengthened during the Perpendicular period; when the transition Norman arches were contracted by those which now exist. The zigzag moulding above marks the extent of the original arches. The work, after the

^d The extent of Bishop Ridel's work is uncertain. "Novum opus usque occidentem cum turre usque ad cumulum fere perfecit."—*Monach. Eliensis*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 631. The "novum opus" may possibly refer to the nave as well as the west transept. The upper portions of the tower and western transept are Early English, and may belong to the episcopate of Bishop Ridel's successor, William Longchamp (1189—1198).

erection of the upper or Decorated story of the tower, (see § xxxi.), had probably shown signs of weakness; and the fall of the central tower in the preceding century no doubt led the monks to apply a remedy to this one in due time. Two tiers of arcaded galleries, the arches of which have trefoil headings, run round above the pier arches; and above, again, are three pointed windows in each side. On the west side, the lower arcade is pierced for light as well as the upper. The window over the entrance, filled with modern stained glass, was inserted early in the present century.

The interior of the tower was begun to be restored in 1846; when a floor above the lower arches was removed. The present painted roof, 115 feet from the pavement, was designed and executed by the late Mr. H. L. Styleman Le Strange in 1855, the work taking him twelve weeks.

The style of decoration is that which prevailed in England about the close of the twelfth century, when this part of the tower was completed. The subject, placed appropriately at the entrance of the church, is the Creation of the Universe. Stems and branches of foliage embrace and sustain five circles placed cross-ways. In the upper circle toward the east, is depicted the *Dextra Domini*, the "Right Hand of the Lord," as the emblem of the Almighty Father. The central circle contains our Saviour in an aureole, in the act of exercising creative power. In His left hand He holds the globe of the world: and He is surrounded by the sun, moon, and stars. Above Him is written the text,

"I am before all things, and by Me all things consist." In the circle beneath is the Holy Dove, brooding over the waters of the newly created earth. Rays of light proceed from the *Dextra Domini* in a threefold manner, and embrace within their influence the other two persons of the Godhead. In the other circles are figures of cherubim and seraphim holding scrolls, on which are the words, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." Round the whole is the text from Revelation, iv. 11,—“Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power; for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are, and were created.”

It was while this work was in progress in 1845 that Mr. Basevi, the architect of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, fell from the upper roof, and was killed on the spot. He was buried in the north choir-aisle, where a brass commemorates him.

V. Bishop Ridel's original plan embraced a *western transept* opening from the tower, and flanked by octagonal turrets at the angles. The north-west transept fell (at what time is uncertain), and was never rebuilt, though a happily unsuccessful attempt to do so seems to have been made in the Decorated period. The south wing, till a few years since shut off from the church by a plaster wall, and used as a workshop and lumber-room, has been thoroughly restored and thrown open; and although Essex advised the Dean and Chapter to pull it down, no part of the cathedral more deservedly challenges attention for the elaborate rich-

ness of its architectural decoration. The whole is probably the work of Bishop Ridel, and affords in its successive stories a very instructive example of the progress from the Norman to the Early English style. The lower stories are covered with tiers of blind arcades, of which that in the centre has interlaced arches. The second tier from the top consists of a low arcade with trefoiled heads, above which are windows with pointed arches carried by banded clustered shafts, and other characteristics of the Early English period. The square abacus, however, is used throughout. On the east side are two circular arches, much enriched with zigzag; one of which opens to the nave-aisle, the other to the apsidal *Chapel of St. Catherine*, which, long in ruins, was rebuilt in 1848, and is now used for early morning prayer. The walls are lined with an arcade in two tiers. The stained glass of the windows is by WILMSHURST; the Baptism of our Lord after a picture by Bassano, the Saviour with little children, from a well-known design of Overbeck's. The deep hues of the Bassano have a striking effect, but the colours are much too vivid to be pleasing. The glass of the other windows is by WAILES.

The floors of transept and chapel have been laid with diapers of stone and Purbeck marble, with an incised border filled with coloured cement. The massive square font of Transitional character, standing on polished marble shafts, was one of the many gifts of the late Professor Selwyn. The ceiling of the

transept is coloured in square panels of red and green, with angels displaying the red cross and sacred monogram, appropriate to its destination as a Baptistery.

VI. The *nave* [Plate II.], which we now enter, is a good specimen of later Norman; and may be compared with the neighbouring Norman nave of Peterborough, which must have been in building at the same time. The nave of Ely, begun and partly built by Abbot Richard, must have been fully completed before 1174, the date of the succession of Bishop Ridel. The work is plain throughout; the eastern end, the part first built, being slightly the plainest, but the height of the arches, which are slightly stilted, as well as the slender shafts of the triforium and clerestory, sufficiently indicate its late character. It consists of twelve bays, alternating in design, as at Norwich; the early Norman nave of which cathedral should be compared with the later Norman of Ely and Peterborough. The arrangement of the piers at Norwich is much simpler and ruder than at Ely, where the semi-attached shafts of the more complex piers already approach the Transition. The arches are recessed in three orders, with plain roll-mouldings. In the *triforium* above, a wide and lofty circular arch, of the same character and nearly the same height as the pier-arch, comprises two smaller arches, carried by a tall slender shaft with a cushion capital. The triforium extends over the aisles, the walls of which were raised and Perpendicular windows inserted, in 1469. The *clerestory* in each bay is formed by an



THE NAVE, FROM THE WEST END.

arcade of three semicircular arches, that in the centre being a little higher than the other two. At the back is a round-headed window. A stringcourse with the billet-moulding passes along at the base of the triforium, and a plain roll above and below the clerestory. Slight differences may be noticed between the two sides of the nave. Vaulting-shafts, in groups of three, rise between each bay on the south side, except the easternmost; on the north side, a single circular shaft is set on a square pilaster. A marble cherub under the soffite of the third arch from the west till lately marked the position of the font, the canopy of which it was supposed to support.

The dimensions of this nave are given as follows—*length*, 230 feet; *breadth* (with aisles), 77 feet 3 inches; *height*, 87 feet.

VII. The *roof* of the nave as originally constructed was probably finished internally with a horizontal ceiling from wall to wall, as in the transepts of Peterborough and at St. Alban's and the choir of Romsey. This was the most usual mode in Norman times, where no stone vault existed. The external form, as well as that of the transept roofs, appears, from the weatherings still existing, to have been truncated. In consequence, however, of the deviation from the original plans made by Alan de Walsingham when he erected the central lantern, it became necessary to re-construct the roof over this portion of the building; and the result was the high-pitched form which exists at the present day, internally braced with a series of inter-

lacing timbers in such a manner as to form an irregular polygonal roof sufficiently high to surmount the newly inserted lantern-arch. This roof seems to have received no kind of finish until, after the painting of the tower ceiling, it was determined to extend the decoration to that of the nave, the roof of which was accordingly coated with boards about 86 feet from the pavement. The paintings on the roofs of the six westernmost bays, like those of the tower ceiling, are the work of Mr. Le Strange, who had spared no labour in the examination of manuscript authorities for Norman ornamentation, and of existing remains of Norman painting in English and foreign churches. The work was commenced by Mr. Le Strange in 1858, and carried on to the close of 1861, by which time the six western bays were completed. At his death in July, 1862, the design and painting of the remaining six bays were committed to Mr. Gambier Parry, of Highnam, in Gloucestershire, and completed by him at Christmas, 1864. The general design of Mr. Le Strange's work was cast upon the model of the Jesse tree, which was itself to be incorporated into the work as the latter part of the history. But as the painting advanced, the introduction of large sacred subjects seemed far more desirable on so enormous a surface, each of the twelve bays containing nearly 1000 superficial feet of painting; and the thread of the design has been thus carried on, the subjects increasing in richness of colour and interest of design as they progress eastwards, culminating, as Mr. Le

Strange had originally intended, in a "Majesty," or the glorified manhood of Christ, the object of universal adoration.

The scheme of the design is the illustration, both in its divine and its human aspects, of one great subject—"an epitome of the sacred history of man as recorded in the Scriptures"—from his creation by "the Word of God" to the Lord's return in glory.

The twelve subjects thus completed, beginning at the west end of the nave, are in the

1st bay. The Creation of Man.

2nd. The Fall of Man.

3rd. The Sacrifice of Noah.

4th. The Sacrifice of Abraham.

5th. The Vision of Jacob.

6th. The Marriage of Boaz and Ruth, from whom springs Obed the father of Jesse.

7th. Jesse; represented in the ancient manner, as lying asleep;—"There shall come forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots."

8th. David, and musicians, angels, &c., attendant on him.

9th. The Annunciation.

10th. The Nativity of Christ.

11th. The Adoration of the Incarnate Word by the world, represented by Jewish Shepherds and Gentile Kings.

12th. The Majesty. The Adoration of all the Heavens. The Lord seated in the centre on a Throne, encircled by a rainbow, and with the sea of glass before it, has above His Head the Seraphim. The Twelve Apostles are seated to the right and left. To the north stand the Archangels Gabriel and Raphael, with the blessed rising at their feet. To the south are Uriel and Michael, the latter thrusting his spear into the dragon's mouth, typical of the final

victory over evil. The principal figures throughout the series are from 9 to 10 feet high.

These central subjects are supported by full-length figures of the Patriarchs and Prophets, carrying scrolls bearing words of their own, predictive of the coming and work of the Messiah. The arrangement in the first nine bays is as follows:—

<i>North Side.</i>	<i>South Side.</i>
1. Jacob.	1. Abraham.
2. Balaam.	2. Job.
3. Nathan.	3. Moses.
4. Joel.	4. Jonah.
5. Hosea.	5. Amos.
6. Isaiah.	6. Micah.
7. Haggai.	7. Daniel.
8. Ezekiel.	8. Jeremiah.
9. { Nahum.	9. { Zechariah.
{ Zephaniah.	{ Malachi.

Evangelists, two on each side, are the supporters in the tenth bay. The eleventh and twelfth bays, properly speaking, have no supporters. In the eleventh bay Magi (S.) and shepherds (N.) are so arranged as to carry on the effect of lateral figures. In the twelfth bay the picture extends entirely across the ceiling.

Along either side of the ceiling is a border of busts, exhibiting the generations of our Lord up to Adam, as successive links in a chain, according to the genealogy given by St. Luke. The series begins at the east end with the head of Joseph, round which is

written "which was the son of Heli," and continues crossing the nave in alternate groups of three, till it reaches the west end, where the figure of Adam is contained in the central medallion of the first bay, round which is inscribed, "which was the Son of God."

The whole of this gigantic work was executed *in situ*, on deal-boards nailed upon the rafters of the roof. The artists had to paint lying on their backs, with the scaffolding impeding their view, and never able to see their work uninterruptedly at a sufficient distance to enable them to judge of it in the various stages of its progress.

VIII. The vaulting of the *nave-aisles* springs, as at Norwich and Peterborough, from triple wall-shafts between the windows, and semicircular shafts, alternately single and in groups of three, at the back of the piers. A wall-arcade runs below the windows of both aisles. A stringcourse ornamented with zigzags runs above this arcade the whole length of the south aisle, but is only seen in the easternmost bay of the north aisle. In the *south aisle*, the door in the fifth bay (counting from the west) opened into the west walk of the cloisters. The wall-arcade west of this door is lower than that east of it. The door itself was the prior's entrance, and is much enriched on the exterior (See § xxxii.) The monks' entrance from the eastern walk of the cloisters is in the eleventh bay. In the sixth bay is a pedestal supporting the fragment of a stone cross, which in all probability is a relic of the

age of St. Etheldreda. It long served as a horse-block at Haddenham, in the Isle of Ely; and was removed to its present position by the care of Mr. Bentham, the historian of the Cathedral. On the pedestal is the inscription, in Roman capitals, "Lucem tuam Ovino da Deus, et requiem. Amen." "Ovini," or "Wini," was, as Bede tells us*, the name of the steward and principal "house-thegn" of Etheldreda; whom he had accompanied from East Anglia about the year 652, on her first marriage with Tondberct, chief of the South Gyrvians. [See Pt. II.] Winford, a manor near Haddenham, may not impossibly retain the name of Wini, who embraced the monastic life under St. Chad at Lichfield†. The cross may perhaps have been erected by Wini himself, on land granted him by Etheldreda, or by Tondberct. At any rate, the almost pure Roman lettering may very well be of his time. The view from this point down the aisle into the west transept, the elaborate wall-arcades of which are alone visible, is a singular one. The break in the wall-arcade of the north aisle in the sixth bay marks the site of the entrance to the former parish church of St. Cross, destroyed in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Lady-chapel was assigned to the parishioners instead of it.

IX. The first bay of the north aisle toward the west

* Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 3.

† The music of the angels, who came to warn St. Chad of his approaching death, was heard only by Wini. See the very curious narrative in Bede, H. E. iv. 3.

has been enclosed, apparently as a chapel; a pointed arch of Early English character having been built within the original Norman arch of the nave.

The *windows* of the north aisle are Perpendicular insertions. Those in the south aisle have nearly all been restored to their original Norman form. There are no windows in the first two bays, but the very rich wall-arcading of the north-west transept is continued. Nearly all the windows in both aisles are filled with modern stained glass, by different artists, and of various degrees of merit. In the *south aisle*, beginning at the west end, the subjects and artists are as follows:—

1. The Creation. The Expulsion from Eden. The Offerings of Cain and Abel. (HENRI and ALFRED GERENTE.)
2. The Ark. The Flood. Noah's Sacrifice. (ALFRED GERENTE.)
3. The Annunciation. The Salutation. The Nativity. (WARRINGTON.)
4. Babel and the Confusion of Tongues. (HOWES.)
5. Abraham with the Angels. Expulsion of Hagar. Blessing of Jacob. (GIBBS.)
6. Passover. Death of the First-born. Departure of Israelites. (HOWES.)
7. Fall of Jericho. Passage of Jordan. Return of Spies. (WAILLES.)
8. The Story of Samson. (ALFRED GERENTE.)
9. The Story of the Venerable Bede. (WAILLES.)
10. David Anointed; playing before Saul; chosen King; and reproved by Nathan. (HARDMAN.)
11. Judgment of Solomon. Building and Dedication of the Temple. Visit of the Queen of Sheba. (MOORE.)

In the *north aisle* the subjects are:—

1. Adam Tilling the Ground. Cain Ploughing. Abel with Sheep. Adam and Eve discovering the body of Abel. (COTTINGHAM.)
2. The History of Lot. (PREEDY.)
3. The Death of Sarah. Purchase of the Cave of Macpelah. Burial of Abraham. (PREEDY.)
4. Gideon. The Flight of the Midianites. (WARD.)
5. The History of Samuel. (WARD and NIXON.)
6. David and the Minstrels. (OLIPHANT, from designs by DYCE, R.A.)
7. History of Elijah. (WAILLES.)
8. Do. do. (Do.)
9. History of Elisha (Do.)
10. History of Hezekiah (Do.)
11. History of Jonah. (HEDGE LAND.)
12. History of Daniel. (LUSSON of Paris.)

Of these windows, many were the gifts of the artists, and others were designed as memorials for different persons connected with the cathedral.

A tablet towards the eastern end of the north records the paving of the nave in 1676 by Roger Clifton, Rector of Downham. The present pavement, of pleasing but unobtrusive design, exhibiting bands, zigzags, and circles of different coloured stone, was laid down in 1869, from a legacy of Bishop Turton, aided by other contributions. The cost of the pavement of the aisles, in black and white chequers with reddish central bands the whole length, was defrayed in 1873 by Bishop Harold Browne and Mr. William Gibbs.

A niche of elaborate workmanship attached to the eleventh pier on either side, towards the aisle, marks the position of the screen of the original Norman choir, which remained *in situ* till Essex's rearrangement of the interior in 1770.

X. The great or principal *transepts* are the only portions of the church which contain any remains of the original Norman work of Abbot Simeon and his successor. Both transepts, which are three bays deep, have east and west aisles; and the lower story in both is early Norman (1082—1107). The arches of this story are much ruder than those of the nave, and have plain, square-edged soffites carried on equally plain piers, one of which on each side is a huge cylinder. In the *north transept*, the capitals of the piers on the east side are enriched with small volutes. These eastern aisles were originally built to form chapels. The walls dividing them still exist in the northern wing, and the separate bays serve as vestries. The walls were removed in the southern wing in 1814, and the whole space forms the Chapter Library, the arches towards the transept being walled up. On the walls of the central chapel of the north wing remains of Norman painting may still be seen. At the N.E. angle is the modern entrance to the Lady-chapel (§ xxix.). The triforium and clerestory on the east and west sides are late Norman, of the same general design as in the nave.

Both transepts originally had the aisle carried across the end wall, precisely like those still existing

at Winchester, built by Simeon's brother, Walkelin, forming a continuous gallery on the triforium level. These terminal aisles were taken down at some later period and replaced by galleries of semicircular moulded arches of much less projection, behind which may be seen the central semi-pier or respond of the aisle-vault. In the *north transept* this arcade is pierced by two round-headed windows; there are two more on the triforium range, and above, two tall transomed three-light Perpendicular windows. In the *south transept* the arcade is lower, and the wall above it is lined with a blank arcade of intersecting arches. Above, again, are two ranges of round-headed windows, and in the gable a broad, low, segmental-headed late Perpendicular window, of seven lights.

Both sides of the *south transept* are enclosed. The eastern aisle (as we have said) now serves as the Chapter Library. (See § xxviii.) On these arches the Norman scroll-work has been restored in modern colours. The west aisle, which serves as a vestry, is shut off by a low wall lined with an intersecting Norman arcade, in which is a richly-carved oak door, brought originally from Landbeach, with the cock and other devices resembling those in Bishop Alcock's chapel (§ xxiv.). The Norman colouring has been restored in this aisle with good effect. This transept is used for Diocesan Conferences, meetings for Church societies and other kindred purposes. It contains a curious piece of tessellated pavement, discovered between the choir and the Lady-chapel.



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THE OCTAGON AND CHOIR, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

The transept *roofs* are open and are somewhat plain examples of the hammer-beam. The projecting brackets have figures of angels with expanded wings. The whole of the roofs have been repainted,—the angel-brackets, the main beams, and the bosses, in red, gold, and green; the boarding of the roof itself in a very effective pattern of black and white.

The whole of the *windows* at the north and south ends of the transepts, as well as those in the west aisle of the north transept, have been filled with stained glass. It would be tedious to particularize their artists and subjects. Those in the south transept are chiefly by the brothers Gerente: those in the north transept by M. Lusson and WAILES of Newcastle.

XI. We have been describing the cathedral in due order; but the attention of the visitor will from the first have been withdrawn with difficulty from the central *octagon* [Plate III.],—"perhaps the most beautiful and original design to be found in the whole range of Gothic architecture." The first impression here is almost bewildering, so great is the mass of details pressing for notice, so varied and unusual the many lines and levels of piers, windows, and roofs, all glowing with colour, and intersected with the most graceful and delicate tracery. There is perhaps no architectural view in Europe more striking—when seen under a good effect of light, on which all such views so greatly depend—than that across the octagon of Ely from the angle of the nave-aisles.

The Norman tower erected by Abbot Simeon had long

been threatening ruin, and the monks had not ventured for some time to sing their Offices in the choir, when, on the eve of St. Ermenilda (Feb. 12, 1322), as the brethren were returning to their dormitory after attending matins in St. Catherine's Chapel, to which the services had been transferred, it fell, "with such a shock and so great a tumult that it was thought an earthquake had taken place." The great mass of the tower seems to have fallen eastward, crushing the three bays of the Norman choir, but doing little damage to the nave. No one was hurt, and the Chronicler of Ely remarks, as an especial proof of the Divine protection, that the shrines of the three sainted abbesses, Etheldreda, Sexburga, and Withburga, which stood at the eastern end of the choir, escaped without the slightest injury. The prior, at this crisis in the history of the cathedral, was John of Crawden (now Croydon, a village in the south of the county), a man of great "administrative skill, who met with promptness and judgment the emergencies of his position."—*Rev. D. J. Stewart*. He had, as sub-prior, elected on the same day as himself, May 20, 1321, Alan of Walsingham, who succeeded him as prior in 1341. After holding the office of sub-prior for a few months he was chosen sacrist, in which capacity his name has become inseparably connected with the architectural history of Ely Cathedral. (*Ibid.*) Under his care the ruins were cleared away, and the work of the octagon begun. This was completed, as high as the upper stringcourse, in 1328. The vault and lantern were then commenced; but these are entirely

of wood, and as it was difficult to find timber of sufficient strength, the work advanced more slowly. It was finished in 1342. The cost of the entire structure was £2,400 6s. 11d.; a sum of which it is difficult to estimate the proportional value, but which was perhaps equal to about £60,000 of our money.

Alan of Walsingham alone, "of all the architects of Northern Europe, seems to have conceived the idea of getting rid of what in fact was the bathos of the style—the narrow tall opening of the central tower, which, though possessing exaggerated height, gave neither space nor dignity to the principal feature. Accordingly, he took for his base the whole breadth of the church, north and south, including the aisles by that of the transepts, with their aisles in the opposite direction. Then, cutting off the angles of this large square, he obtained an octagon more than three times as large as the square upon which the central tower would have stood by the usual English arrangement*." The octagon is thus formed by four larger and four smaller arches. The larger open to the nave, choir, and transepts; the smaller to the aisles of all four. At the pier-angles are groups of slender shafts, from which springs a ribbed vaulting of wood. This supports the lantern, likewise octagonal in shape, but set in such a manner as to have its angles opposite the faces of the stone octagon below, and consisting of a series of enriched panels, with eight windows above them, small shafts at the angles of which support a richly groined and bossed roof. The

* Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture.

entire roof, above the piers of the octagon, forms "the only Gothic dome in existence, though Italian architects had done the same thing, and the method was in common use with the Byzantines^b."

XII. The great eastern arch of the octagon rises above the vault of the choir; the space between which and the arch is filled with open tracery. Above the crown of each of the great arches, in the space between it and the vanthing, is a trefoil containing the seated figure of a saint.

The details of the four smaller sides of the octagon are admirable, and demand especial notice. The hood-mouldings of the principal arches rest on sculptured heads; of which those north-east probably represent Edward III. and his queen, Philippa, during whose reign the work was completed; those south-east, Bishop Hotham and Prior Crawden, who presided over the see and the monastery at the time;

^b Fergusson. The exact place of Alan of Walsingham's interment is unknown. His epitaph has been preserved, and ran thus:—

"Flos operatorum, dum vixit corpore sanus
Hic jacet ante chorum Prior en tumulatus, Alanus.
Annis bis denis vivens fuit ipse Sacrista,
Plus tribus his plenius Prior ens perfecit et ista,
Sacristariam quasi funditus ædificavit;
Mephale, Brame, etiam, huic ecclesiæ cumulavit.
Pro veteri turre, quæ quadam nocte cadebat,
Hanc turrin proprie quam cernitis hic faciebat;
Et plures sedes quia fecerat ipse Prioris,
Detur ei sedes cœli, pro fine laboris."

He died apparently in the year 1364.

and those north-west are supposed to represent Alan of Walsingham, the sacrist and architect, and his master of the works. The heads on the south-west arch cannot now be identified. In the angle of each pier is a projecting niche, once containing a statue. These niches rise from large brackets supported by a group of slender shafts, the capitals of which are sculptured with the story of St. Etheldreda. (See § XIII.) The wall above and between the niches is panelled with tabernacle-work in three divisions, each of which contains a bracket enriched with foliage, bearing statues of the Apostles by Redfern. Some carved heads here, and in the corbel-table above, representing the sixteen prophets, should be noticed. Above, again, is a window of four lights, the arrangement of which is especially beautiful and ingenious. The window itself fills the whole bay of the vault, and is necessarily sharp pointed and narrowed toward the top. At the height of the four great octagon arches, however, an inner arch is thrown across, the space between which and the crown of the vault is filled with open tracery, corresponding to the blind tracery which covers the wall above the greater arches. A passage along the base of these windows communicates with the clerestories of nave and choir.

These windows have been filled with stained glass, by WAILES. Those south-east and north-east represent the principal persons belonging to the story of St. Etheldreda, including her parents, her two husbands, St. Wilfrid, St. Dunstan, &c. That north-

west contains eight representative figures, William the Conqueror, Henry I., Henry III., Edward II.; Abbot Simeon, the founder of the church; Hervey, the first bishop; Bishop Northwold, and Alan of Walsingham, the builders of the presbytery and octagon respectively. That south-west displays Edward III., Queen Philippa, Bishop Hotham, and Prior Crawden,—in whose time the octagon was first constructed; and Queen Victoria, the late Prince Consort (in his robes as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge), Dr. Turton, Bishop, and Dr. Peacock, then Dean, of Ely, who represent its modern restoration.

XIII. The story of St. Etheldreda will be found at length in Part II. The subjects of the sculptures below the niches in the octagon, beginning from the north-west corner of the north transept arch, and proceeding to the right, are as follows:—

1. The marriage of Etheldreda with Egfrid of Northumbria. The figures supporting Etheldreda are apparently those of her uncle, Ethelwold, King of East Anglia, and her elder sister, Sexburga, afterwards Abbess of Ely. (Her father and mother, Anna and Hereswitha, were dead at the time of this her second marriage.) Wilfrid, the famous Bishop of Northumbria, is celebrating the marriage. The Bishop's cross and aspersorium, or holy-water sprinkler, are borne by attendant monks.

2. The dedication of St. Etheldreda in the convent of Coldingham. The abbess, St. Ebba, aunt of King Egfrid, is supporting her veil. Bishop Wilfrid is

blessing Etheldreda, who kneels before an altar, on which is her crown. At the back of the Abbess are attendant nuns, one of whom carries her pastoral staff.

3. North angle of choir-arch. St. Etheldreda's staff bursts into leaf. [See Part II.] She is asleep, watched by her companions. Behind is her staff, in full leaf and bearing fruit. The sculptor has represented a medlar rather than an ash, the mystic tree of the old Saxons, into which, according to the legend, the staff developed.

4. South angle of choir-arch. The miracle at Coldeburch's Head. [See Part II.] On the rock, round which the sea is flowing, are St. Etheldreda and her two companions, Sewenna and Sevara. Egfrid and his attendants are riding round the rock, amazed at the miracle.

5. East corner of south transept-arch. The installation of St. Etheldreda as Abbess of Ely by Bishop Wilfrid. Remark the distinction between the pastoral staff of an abbot and a bishop; one turned inward, the other outward, marking internal and external jurisdiction.

6. West corner of south transept-arch. The death and "chesting" of St. Etheldreda. The first division represents the last moments of the saint; who supports her pastoral staff in one hand, whilst Huna, her priest, lifts the consecrated host at her side. In the second division she is placed in her coffin, which Bishop Wilfrid is blessing. Weeping nuns fill the background.

7. South corner of nave-arch. Ymma loosed from his fetters by the masses of Tunna and the intercession of St. Etheldreda. [See Part II.] The Abbesses Sexburga and Withburga also appear, and two angels attend them.

8. North corner of nave-arch. The translation of St. Etheldreda. [See Part II.] Her sister, the Abbess Sexburga, is lifting the body, which is found uncorrupted and flexible. Bishop Wilfrid, and Kinefrid, the physician, are describing the events to three royal personages.

The costume of all these figures, it need hardly be said, is that of the reign of Edward III. The expressions and attitudes are good and characteristic; but the work is scarcely so refined or so imaginative as that of the earlier sculptures at Wells and Salisbury.

Against the north-east pier of the choir-arch stands a richly-carved pulpit of Caen stone, resting on a cluster of detached Purbeck marble columns, from a design by Sir G. G. Scott, erected from a legacy by Miss Allen, daughter of Bishop Allen.

XIV. The vaulted roof of the octagon has been very effectively coloured; and the whole, including the lantern and the pinnacles and external stonework, has been restored as a memorial of the late Dean Peacock, who was the first to set on foot the general repair and decoration of the cathedral. The internal decoration of the octagon is due to the voluntarily bestowed labour and artistic taste of Mr.

Gambier Parry. The motive of the design is taken from the 150th Psalm. Surrounding the central boss, a grand piece of fourteenth-century oak carving, representing Our Lord in Majesty, is painted a galaxy of seraphim on a grey-blue ground. Below the eight windows, which are filled with coloured glass, are thirty-two richly traceried panels, in groups of four, on each of which is painted a standing angel, playing on a musical instrument of the date of the lantern, on backgrounds alternately of chocolate and blue. Below these is a series of smaller panels bearing the sacred monogram, the Cross and the Crown. The long spandrils of the groining are decorated with flowers, leaves, and golden fruit, with, in Mr. Parry's own words, "all those suggestions of adoring Nature that mediæval art could apply." The space between the great eastern arch and the vault of the choir is filled in with rich tracery, the central panel of which contains the Crucifixion, with angels on either side. The whole has been well described as "the result of cultivated genius and religious fervour, studiously striving to make art a teacher of Divine truth." The total expense of this internal decoration has been about £2500.

The architectural views from the octagon are superb. That down the nave should be especially noticed, for the grandeur produced by its great length, extending beyond the tower into the west porch.

XV. As in Norwich Cathedral, and in many other

conventual churches, the *choir* of the monks at Ely extended beyond the central tower, and after that had fallen, beyond the octagon, to the second pier of the nave. So it continued until 1770, when it was removed to the six eastern bays of the cathedral. At the commencement of the present restoration the arrangement of the choir was again altered; and it now begins at the eastern arch of the octagon, and embraces seven bays; the two easternmost, beyond them, forming the retro-choir.

The choir is divided from the octagon by a very beautiful oaken *screen*, with gates of brass. This is entirely modern, and designed by Sir G. G. SCOTT. An excellent effect is produced by the double planes of tracery in the upper divisions of the screen; the cresting of which, with its coronals of leafage, should be especially remarked. Lofty pinnacles of tabernacle-work rise on either side, above the stalls of the bishop and dean. The screen, notwithstanding its great elaboration, is sufficiently light and open to permit the use of the octagon as well as of the choir, during service.

Of the seven bays of which the choir consists, the four easternmost (as well as the two beyond, which form the retro-choir) are the work of Bishop HUGH OF NORTHWOLD¹, whose building was dedicated Sept. 17, 1252, in the presence of Henry III. and his son, after-

¹ Bishop Hugh's work embraced the whole of the eastern limb, excluding the three western bays afterwards destroyed by the fall of the tower. It was seventeen years in building, and cost, according to the *Hist. Eliensis (Ang. Sac.)*, i. p. 636), £5040 18s. 8d.; a sum equalling about £120,000 at present.

wards Edward I., then about thirteen years old. The three western bays, in which the stalls are placed, were commenced in 1338, the year after the death of Bishop Hotham, who left money toward the work; and were completed during the episcopate of THOMAS DE LISLE (1345—1362). The division between the two portions is very sharply marked, not only by the difference of style, but by an ascent of two steps, and by broad shafts of stone which rise to the roof, and are in fact the original Norman shafts which stood at the turn of Abbot Simeon's apse¹, which, carried by him little above the foundations, was converted into a square-ended presbytery, as at Romsey, St. Cross, and Oxford, by Abbot Richard, to receive the shrines of the four sainted abbesses. Their capitals, which are Early English, were added when the presbytery was lengthened.

The continuity of the leading horizontal lines throughout the building deserves notice. Professor Willis has called attention to the fact that the relative altitudes of the three divisions of the elevation, the pier-arch, the triforium space, and clerestory, remain the same from the west end of the nave, through the transepts, to the extreme east end, the floors of the triforium and clerestory galleries maintaining one and the same level. The spacing of the piers is also about the same. In fact, the distribution and proportion of

¹ The foundations of this apse supporting those of the square-ended presbytery, have been traced below the pavement of the present choir.

the parts laid down by the Norman designers has been rigorously adhered to in all subsequent alterations of the fabric.

XVI. The eastern portion of the choir—the Early English work of Bishop Hugh of Northwold—should first be examined. The piers are of Purbeck marble, cylindrical, with eight attached ringed shafts, the capitals of which are enriched with leafage of late Early English character. Knots of similar foliage are placed between the bases of the shafts. The hood-moulding has the dog-tooth ornament. At the intersections are bosses of foliage, and there are large open trefoils in the spandrils. Long corbels of leafage descending to the intersections of the arches carry the triple vaulting-shafts, ringed at the springing of the triforium arches (in a line with the capitals of the triforium shafts) and rising to the level of the clerestory, where they terminate in rich capitals of leafage. Corbels, shafts, and capitals are of Purbeck marble.

The *triforium* arches greatly resemble those below in mouldings and ornaments; and are subdivided by a central group of shafts. In the tympanum above is an open quatrefoil, with bunches of leafage on either side. Pointed quatrefoils also appear in the spandrils. The triforium extends backwards over the choir-aisles. In the latter half of the fourteenth century the exterior walls were raised, and large windows with Decorated tracery inserted by Bishop Barnet (1366—1373), with the view of lessening the gloom of the low-windowed Early English triforium. In the two

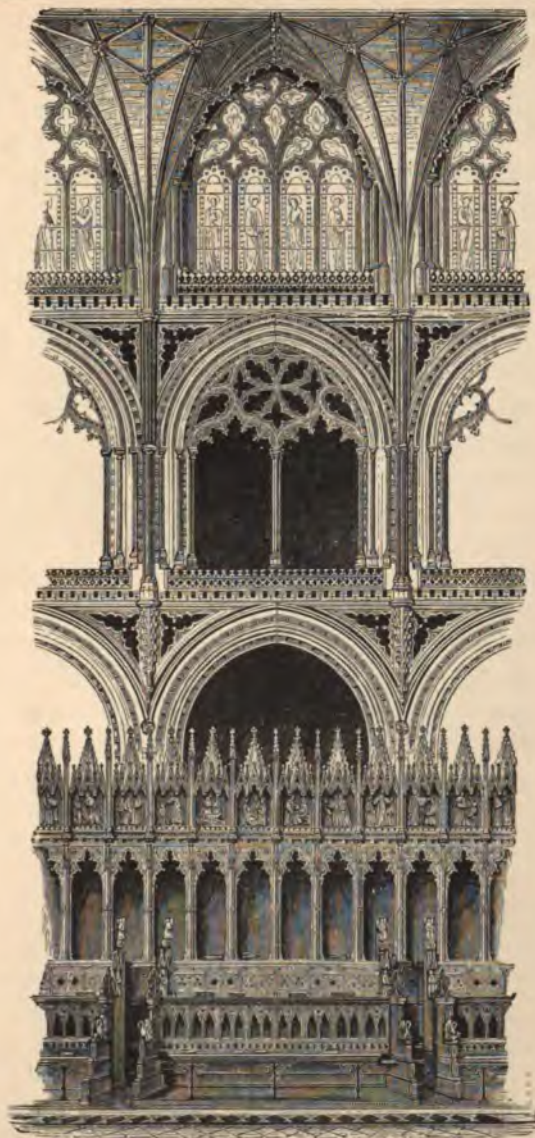
westernmost bays of Bishop Hugh's work, however, the roof of the triforium gallery was removed altogether; and the inner arcade replaced by glazed windows, of late Decorated character, feeble and wanting in depth, similar to those of the triforium eastward. A flood of light was thus poured down upon the most sacred portion of the church—the choir-altar, the shrines of St. Etheldreda and the other abbesses, as well as on the tomb of Bishop Barnet himself, standing in the second of these bays on the south side. These windows are now filled with stained glass by WAILES. The original arrangement may still be seen outside the cathedral on the south side, where Bishop Hugh's exterior walls and window-openings remain (see § XXXI.).

The *clerestory* windows are triplets, set flush with the outer wall. An inner, open arcade rises above the triforium, thus forming a gallery. The arches toward the choir are supported by shafts of Purbeck. The *roof* of this Early English portion of the cathedral is of simple quadripartite vaulting. The vaulting-ribs are arranged in groups of seven. The bosses at the intersections are carved in foliage, with the exception of two toward the west, which represent a bishop seated, with crozier and mitre, and the coronation of the Virgin.

The foliage of all Bishop Hugh's work deserves careful examination. The arrangement in the corbels of the vaulting-shafts varies, and should be remarked. The bunches in the tympana of the triforium approach

to a decided imitation of nature, and should be compared with the foliage in Walsingham's work to the west of it, where the naturalism is fully developed. The juxtaposition of the two works is throughout very instructive; and the visitor should proceed at once to examine the three western bays of the choir, before turning to the modern reredos, or to the various monuments, which will be afterwards noticed.

XVII. The *three western bays* were completed, by Bishop Hotham, between the years 1345 and 1362. [Plate IV.] The arrangement on either side is precisely that of Bishop Hugh's work, as that reproduces the Norman arrangement; but the superior beauty will at once be recognized. The lower arches, and those of the triforium, have square bosses of foliage attached to their mouldings in a very striking manner. The trefoils in the spandrils differ in form from Bishop Hugh's, and the long corbels are carved with natural oak-leaves. A low, open parapet runs along at the base of the triforium and clerestory; which latter is set back within a rear arch, as in Bishop Hugh's work; but this arch is foiled, and extends over the whole space. The tracery of the triforium and of the clerestory windows is exquisitely rich and graceful, but somewhat wanting in vigour and too widely spaced. The work was begun on the south side, and the tracery in the head of the triforium arch in the first compartment on that side differs from the quadruple loop seen in the five remaining bays. A large canopied niche will be noticed between the first and second bays of the



ONE BAY OF BISHOP ROTHAM'S WORK IN THE CHOIR

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triforium to the south. The lierne-vaulting of the roof should be compared with the earlier and simpler vault east of it. Its bosses have been gilt, and the ribs coloured red and green. The corbels of the vaulting-shafts, which are of "clunch" stone, are blue, with white and gold-tipped leafage: the trefoils in the spandrils deep-blue, powdered with golden stars. The roofs of the triforium, seen through its arches, are coloured in patterns of black, white, and red. All the clerestory windows have been filled with stained glass by WAILES, displaying figures of doctors and martyrs.

The arms of the see^k, and of Bishop Hotham^l, the principal contributor toward the work, are placed in the spandrils of the first bay on the south side. A figure of St. Etheldreda may possibly have stood beneath the canopy which still remains between the first and second bays on the same side.

It is probable that these three western bays form the best example of the pure Decorated period to be found in England; and we may safely adopt Mr. Fergusson's assertion, that their details "are equal to anything in Europe for elegance and appropriateness^m."

^k Gules, 3 ducal coronets, or.

^l Barry of ten, az. and arg.; on a canton, or, a martlet sable.

^m Handbook of Architecture. The architectural student will find a comparison of the following portions of Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals, which form an almost complete series, ranging from the commencement of Early English to the perfect development of Decorated, full of interest and instruction:—

Choir of Lincoln, 1192—1200.

Nave of Lincoln, 1209—1220.

[*Eastern*

The *organ*, which has been entirely rebuilt by Hill, occupies a position differing from that of any other in England, and projects from the triforium of the third bay on the north side. Its hanging case, a superb mass of carving, coloured and gilt, but with much of the oakwork judiciously left in its natural tint, is entirely modern, and deserves especial notice.

The *stalls* extend throughout this portion of the choir. All those at the back formed part of the original fittings, begun in 1338, and have been carefully restored. They are constructed in two stages, the lower of which is recessed; over the seats and from the front rises a series of panels, with overhanging canopies. These panels are filled with modern sculpture in wood by M. Abeloos, of Louvain, with the exception of the Nativity, which is by Philip; the south side with subjects from the Old Testament, the north from the New. All the panels, both on the south side and on the north, have been completed. These represent—*south*, beginning from the west, (1) Creation of Man; (2) Creation of Woman; (3) Adam in Paradise; (4) The Fall of Man; (5) The Expulsion; (6) Adam and Eve at work; (7) Cain killing Abel; (8) Noah building the Ark; (9) The Deluge; (10) Noah's Sacrifice; (11) Promise to Abraham; (12) Isaac carrying the Wood; (13)

Eastern portion of Ely choir, 1229—1252.

Presbytery, or "Angel choir" of Lincoln, 1256—1283.

Western bays of Ely choir, 1345—1362.

Abraham's Sacrifice; (14) Isaac blessing Jacob; (15) Jacob's Dream; (16) The Burning Bush; (17) The Passover; (18) Moses striking the Rock; (19) The Brazen Serpent; (20) Return of the Spies; (21) David anointed by Samuel; (22) Queen of Sheba's Visit; (23) Jonah; (24) Elijah's Ascent to Heaven. On the *north* side are—(1) The Annunciation; (2) The Salutation; (3) The Nativity; (4) The Presentation in the Temple; (5) The Offering of the Kings; (6) The Flight into Egypt; (7) The Murder of the Innocents; (8) Our Lord Disputing with the Doctors; (9) The Baptism; (10) The Temptation; (11) The Miracle at Cana; (12) The Transfiguration; (13) Mary anointing our Lord's Feet; (14) The Betrayal; (15) Our Lord before Caiaphas; (16) The Mocking; (17) Pilate washing his Hands; (18) The Scourging; (19) "Behold the Man!" (20) The Crucifixion; (21) The Burial; (22) The Resurrection; (23) Our Lord at Emmaus; (24) The Unbelief of Thomas; (25) The Ascension. All are excellent in execution, but somewhat deficient in expression; those on the south side are the best. The details in other portions of these upper stalls, the exquisite leafage, the designs in the spandrels, and the figures at the foils of the canopies deserve the most careful notice. The colour of the whole is unusually pleasing.

The sub-stalls are new. The finials display angels holding musical instruments; and at their ends in the upper range is a series of small figures representing the builders of the various portions of the cathedral,

from St. Etheldreda, who holds the model of a Saxon church, to Bishop Alcock, who exhibits his chapel. All were designed by Mr. J. Philip, and are not unworthy of the ancient work with which they are associated.

The brass *lectern* in the centre of the choir is a gift of the late Canon E. B. Sparke, in memory of the late Mr. Styleman Le Strange.

On the floor—which has been paved with polished marble combined with encaustic tiles—is a memorial brass for Bishop HOTHAM, entirely new; and that of Prior CRAWDEN (or Croyden), died 1341, which has been restored. This brass has a hollow floriated cross, with a small figure of the Prior at the foot. The inscription runs,—

“ Hanc aram decorat de Crauden tumba Johannis
Qui fuit hic Prior, ad bona plura, pluribus annis.
Presulis hunc sedes elegit pontificari,
Presulis ante pedes ideo meruit tumulari.”

The last two lines allude to the fact that, on the death of Bishop Hotham, Prior Crawden was unanimously elected by the monks as his successor; that the election was annulled by the Pope, who appointed Simon de Montacute; and that he was buried at the feet of Bishop Hotham.

XVIII. We may now return to the eastern portion of the choir, where the *altar* and the *rearedos* first claim attention. The altar is raised on five low steps, the tiles, mosaics, and inlaid marbles of which deserve notice. The altar-cloth, embroidered by the Misses Blencowe,



THE EAST END AND REREDOS.

is among the best modern works of the kind. In the centre is a figure of the Saviour. The inscription runs, "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi dona nobis pacem. Agnus Dei miserere nobis."

The *altar-screen* or *reredos* [Plate V.], designed by Sir G. G. Scott, was the gift of John Dunn Gardner, Esq., of Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, as a memorial to his first wife. Immediately over the altar are five compartments filled with sculpture; above which rises a mass of rich tabernacle-work. The sculptures, which are in alabaster, represent—Christ's Entry into Jerusalem; Washing the Disciples' feet; the Last Supper; the Agony in the Garden; Bearing the Cross. Shafts of alabaster, round which a spiral belt is twisted inlaid with agates and crystals on a gold ground, divide these compartments, and support the arches above. The tabernacle-work is crowded with figures of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and with medallion heads in relief: those on the north represent Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; those south, the four Doctors of the Latin Church—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. Each compartment terminates in a gable, of which that in the centre is highest. In this gable is the Saviour with Moses and Elias on either side; above is a medallion of the Annunciation; and on the highest point a figure of our Lord in Majesty. On the side gables are figures of the four Evangelists, with their emblems on the crockets. In trefoils, set in the gables, are projecting busts; those north representing Mary Magdalene and Mary the

mother of James ; those south St. John the Baptist and St. John the Divine. On spiral pillars between the gables are figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, north ; and of Justice, Prudence, and Fortitude, south. All the details of this very important work of modern art—in which the spirit rather than the letter of ancient examples has been followed—deserve the most careful observation. Much gold and colour has been applied to the figures, and to other portions of the sculpture, under the direction of Mr. Hudson.

XIX. Beginning on the south side of the choir, the first monument in the fourth bay from the west (the first of Bishop Northwold's work), is that of WILLIAM OF LOUTH (de Luda, 1290—1298 ; see Part II.) [Plate VI.], a fine and unusual design. It consists of a lofty central arch, with smaller openings at the sides. The arches are crowned with gables, much enriched, and terminating in pinnacles and finials of leafage. On the floor beneath the central canopy is a slab with the figure of the bishop, from which the brass has disappeared. In the bases of the east and west arches are figures of the four Evangelists ; in the tympanum of the central gable is the Saviour in Majesty. The original colouring has been restored, but the effect is not pleasing. The shrine of St. Etheldreda, the patron saint of the monastery, stood in the centre of the presbytery, a little beyond De Luda's monument, in a line with the second pair of piers of Northwold's work. The high altar was placed a little to the west, in a line with the first pair of these piers.



MONUMENT OF BISHOP DE LUDA

1

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In the fifth bay is the Purbeck marble altar-tomb of Bishop BARNET (1366—1373), with good quatrefoils at the sides and ends. The brass has been destroyed. In the sixth bay is the tomb of JOHN TIPTOFT, EARL OF WORCESTER,—the most accomplished nobleman of his time, and one of the Englishmen mentioned by Leland (another was William Gray, Bishop of Ely), who travelled to Italy in order to become disciples of the younger Guarini, at Ferrara. The Earl, who had been Edward the Fourth's Constable of England, was an ardent Yorkist: and after the success of Warwick's expedition in 1470, he was found concealed in a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was tried before the Earl of Oxford, beheaded, and buried in the Tower. His two wives, whose effigies rest on either side of the Earl's, were alone buried in Ely. The monument is a fine example of late Perpendicular. It is a high altar-tomb, with a canopy of three arches and a screen of open-work in two stages rising above it. The pendants between the arches are noticeable; as are the patterns of leafage, for the most part ivy and oak. The Earl is in armour, but wears a coronet.

In the seventh bay on this side has been placed the tomb of Bishop HOTHAM (1317—1334); originally surmounted by the so-called "shrine," which in the recent restoration has been placed in the sixth bay on the north side. Before Essex's alterations, the whole structure stood in the centre of Bishop Hotham's magnificent fabric. That architect removed it to the north side of the presbytery. In front is a graceful

arcade. The six iron rings inserted in the upper slab of Purbeck possibly supported the herse.

XX. On the *north* side, the altar-tomb in the seventh bay, opposite Bishop Hotham's, is that of HUGH OF NORTHWOLD, the builder of the presbytery (1229—1254), much dilapidated, but of high interest. The base is modern. On it rests the effigy of the



Sculpture on Bishop Northwold's Tomb.

bishop fully vested, with smaller figures and sculptures at the sides and foot. At the foot is represented the story of St. Edmund, of whose great monastery at Bury Bishop Hugh had been abbot. The King is seen tied to a tree and shot at with arrows by the Danes; on one side he is beheaded, on the other is the wolf of the legend, which protected the head of the royal martyr^a. On one side of the principal effigy are

^a This is the usual interpretation of the figures: but it seems more probable that the figure holding a short sword, above the

the figures of a king (St. Edmund), and of Bishop Hugh as abbot and monk: on the other three representations of St. Etheldreda, as queen, abbess, and nun. The two great monasteries over which Bishop Hugh had presided were thus commemorated. The shafts supporting the canopy are curiously enriched with foliage.

In the sixth bay stands the so-called *shrine* of Bishop HOTHAM, which, as we have said, formerly stood centrally in the lower part of the choir, just behind the reredos of the choir-altar, in the midst of his own glorious fabric. The shrine consists of two stories, the lower of which has open arches, groined within; the upper is enclosed. At the intersections of the upper arches are monastic heads; and in front, those of a king and queen. The work is very good, and should be remarked. The exquisite foliage on the spandrels deserves close attention. The tomb of Bishop Hotham, now on the south side of the choir, formerly stood within the arches of the lower story. The upper arches were originally filled with sculpture; and on the top was a lofty 'branch' for seven great tapers. It is not impossible that the upper portion of this tomb may have served as the watching-chamber for the shrine of St. Etheldreda. It resembles in its arrangements the watching-chamber of St. Frideswide's at Oxford. (See that Cathedral.)

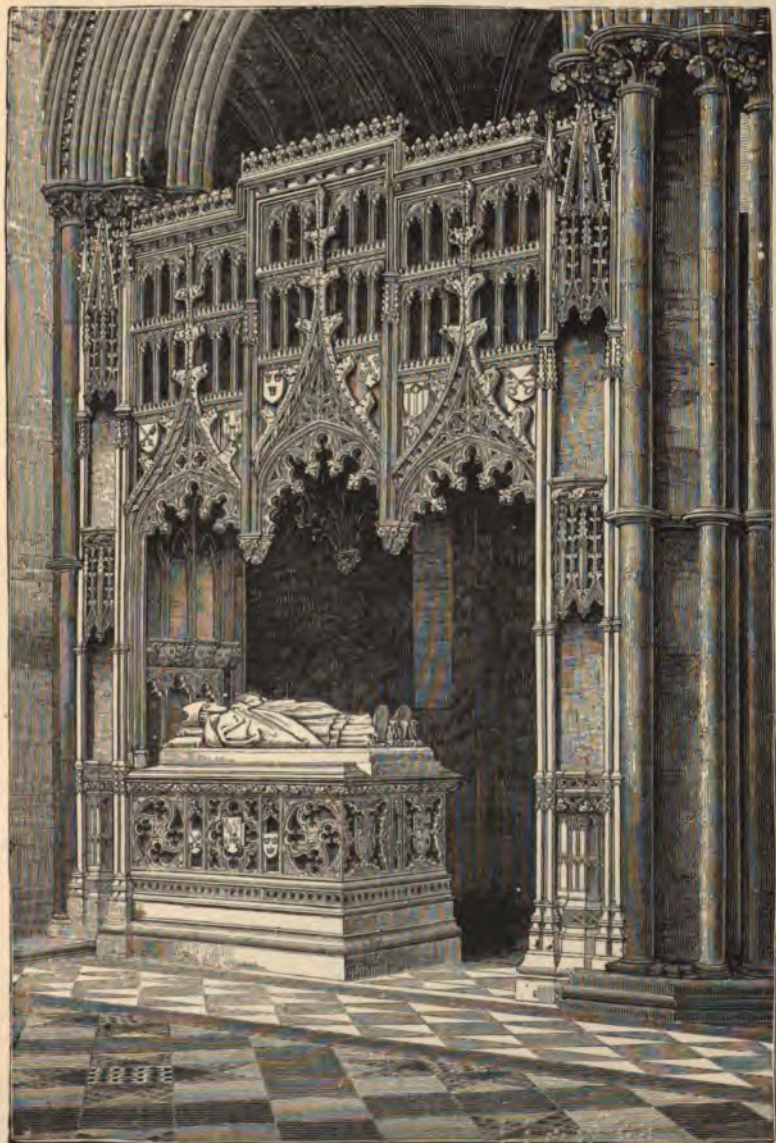
king, is that of a protecting or avenging angel; and that the so-called wolf is the evil spirit in animal form, inciting the Danes to the murder. It is distinctly hoofed.

In the fifth bay is the effigy of Bishop WILLIAM KILKENNY (1255—1257), who died in Spain (see Part II.), but whose heart was brought to Ely for interment. The effigy is a very fine and perfect specimen of Early English, with censing angels at the head. The vestments and morse which fastens them should be remarked.

The last monument in the fourth bay is the chantry of Bishop REDMAN (1501—1506) [Plate VII.], with a very elaborate Perpendicular canopy. There is a space for the altar at the foot of the tomb, and a reredos above. The arms of the Bishop and See, and the emblems of the Passion, are placed on shields in various parts of the tomb.

XXI. We now pass into the *north choir-aisle*; the first three bays of which, westward, are Decorated, and of the same period as the western choir; the remaining portion is Early English, and part of Bishop Hugh's work. The distinction between the two portions is evident in the roof, which is rich lierne in the Decorated work, and plainly vaulted, with bosses, in the Early English—and in the Purbeck capitals of the shafts of the main piers, of which the Early English are enriched with leafage, the Decorated being plain.

The broad aisle-windows are late Decorated, devoid of originality, copied, with slight variations, from one of Bishop Hotham's windows. Those in the eastern bays were put in by Bishop Gray, opposite to his monument under the last arch. The whole are filled



MONUMENT OF BISHOP REDMAN.



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with modern stained glass. The screen-work at the back of the stalls, and the stone staircase to the organ-loft are modern. Opposite this staircase is a very rich Decorated doorway, with huge niches in the jambs, much mutilated, formerly obscured by Dean Cæsar's monument, through which the Lady-chapel was approached. (§ xxvii.) On the wall at the back of the stalls are the monuments of Bishop FLEETWOOD, 1723, and his son Archdeacon Fleetwood, 1737.

On the floor of this aisle is the brass of the architect BASEVI, who was killed by a fall from the western tower in 1845. Under the window in the sixth bay is the monument of Bishop SIMON PATRICK (1691-1707), displaying marble drapery with gilt fringe and tassels, cherubs, urns, and pyramids. "*Pientissimus senex,*" runs the inscription, "*placide animam Deo reddidit, 31 Maii, 1707; a. ætat. 81.*" In the seventh bay is that of Bishop MAWSON (1754-1771), and in the eighth that of Bishop LANEY (1667-1675), "*facundia amabilis; acumine terribilis; eruditione auctissimus Hunc monarchiæ et hierarchiæ ruinæ feriebant impavidum; hunc earundum instauratio ad thronum Petroburgensem, Lincolnensem, Eliensem, extulit horrentem.*" The window above Bishop Laney's tomb is filled with stained glass by WARD, as a memorial for Canon Fardell (died 1854). The subject is the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

At the west end of this aisle, between it and the eastern aisle of the transept, is the monument of Dean CÆSAR (died 1636), happily removed from the blocked

entrance of the Lady-chapel. It has been restored, and is a good example of the time.

XXII. The *retro-choir*, behind the altar, is part of Bishop Hugh's work, as has already been mentioned. The eastern end is filled with two tiers of windows; the lower consisting of three very long lancets, with groups of Purbeck shafts at the angles, very rich mouldings, and elongated quatrefoils in the spandrels; the upper, of five lancets, diminishing from the centre, and set back, as in the clerestory, within an arcade supported by shafts. The manner in which this arcade is made to fill the eastern end, and the consequent form of its arches, are equally noticeable. The gold and colour of the roof-bosses have been carried into it with excellent effect. The windows are filled with stained glass by WAILES; representing, in the lower lights, the history of our Lord, in a series of medallions, commencing from the figure of Jesse at the bottom of the south lancet. The upper windows contain figures of the Apostles, with the Saviour in Majesty at the top of the central light, and beneath, four events which occurred after the Crucifixion. These windows were put in from a bequest of Bishop SPARKE, died 1836, whose kneeling figure is seen at the bottom of the north lancet.

Immediately at the back of the altar-screen is a slab of rich Alexandrine mosaic, a memorial of Bishop ALLEN, died 1845. The work, which is very elaborate, but scarcely very beautiful, cost £1000. Here is also a monument, designed by Scott and executed by

Philip, to the memory of Dr. MILL, died 1853, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Canon of Ely, and once Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. The monument consists of an altar-tomb, of alabaster and serpentine, garnished with marble mosaic and hard stones polished, bearing a recumbent effigy of Dr. Mill in his doctor's robes. The figure is in copper, and was formed by the electrotype process. At the feet are two kneeling figures—one an Oriental, the other a Cambridge student. Between the retro-choir and the north aisle is the tomb-stone of Bishop GRAY (1454–1478), stripped of its brasses. This monument occupied the last bay on the north side. Its stone canopy was destroyed when the stalls were removed to the presbytery in 1770. A curious memorial of the position of the tomb exists in an early example of block-printing representing Bishop Gray's arms, pasted to one of the marble shafts.

On the opposite side, flanking Bishop West's chapel, is the lofty and elaborate monument of Bishop LEWIS OF LUXEMBURG, Archbishop of Rouen and Bishop of Ely (1431–1443), long hidden by Essex's screen and altar arrangements. The effigy is mutilated and headless. The three-arched canopy is of excellent design and exceedingly rich.

XXIII. At the end of the north aisle is the chapel of Bishop ALCOCK (1416–1501; see Part II.), designed in all probability by himself, since he was "Controller of the royal works and buildings" under Henry VII. The walls are fretted with a mass of

tabernacle-work, very elaborate, but heavy and clumsy. It must have been wonderfully rich when crowded with figures, all of which have now disappeared. The details, however, hardly bear comparison with the better Decorated work of the choir. The roof is richly groined in fan-tracery, with a central dependent boss. The windows, which are early Decorated, seem to have been retained by Bishop Alcock from the original termination of the aisle. The chapel is entered by doors west and south. On the north side is the Bishop's tomb, with a window at the back containing some remains of ancient stained glass. A door opens to the small space behind the tomb, probably the Bishop's chantry, forming an arrangement very unusual and beautiful. Upon the tomb itself, and in the glass of the east window, is the Bishop's rebus or device—a cock on a globe. His shield of arms (three cocks' heads) is over the south door. The original stone altar remains at the east end, but raised on modern supports. Remark the curious bosses under the brackets on either side, representing ammonites projecting from their shells and biting each other. Above is placed a stone found in opening a grave near the chapel, and bearing the inscription "Johannes Alcock, Eps. Elien. hanc fabricam fieri fecit 1488." The chapel has been partly restored, and the floor laid with encaustic tiles.

XXIV. Opposite, at the end of the *south choir-aisle*, is the chapel of Bishop West (1515—1534), the walls of which are panelled with tabernacle-work, and

crowded with figures, though not to such an extent as Bishop Alcock's. The design and ornamentation are much lighter and more elegant than in that chapel. In this chapel the influence of the "renaissance" is at once evident. Italian ornamentation is especially noticeable in the brackets of the lower tier of niches, and in the lower part of that over the door, which displays a figure in the costume of Francis I. The ceiling, too, is a good example of the conversion of Gothic fan-tracery into the later panelled roof, having deeply moulded ribs with pendent bosses, and panels painted with arabesques and figures of cherubs. Round the lower brackets runs the Bishop's motto, "*Gracia Dei sum quod sum*," which also appears over the door, on the exterior. The ornament round this door should be noticed, as well as the remains of colour. The ornaments have been white, on a blue ground. The original iron-work of the doors should also be remarked. The tomb of Bishop West is on the south side of the chapel, under a window which contains some fragments of old glass. The sculptured figures and ornaments have been terribly shattered, possibly in obedience to the injunctions of the Protector Somerset in 1547, for the "general purification of the churches," which ordered that "from wall and window every picture, every image commemorate of saint or prophet or apostle, was to be extirpated and put away 'so that there should remain no memory of the same'." These orders were no doubt perfectly obeyed; but

° Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. v. p. 37.

works so recently completed as this chapel, still fresh in colour and gilding, would at once attract attention, and were probably the first to suffer. The chapel here may be compared with that built by Bishop West in the parish church of Putney, Surrey, his birth-place.

Over Bishop West's tomb is a range of seven small pedimented arches, of Alan of Walsingham's exquisite Decorated work, fitted in under a late segmental arch, below which is an inscription recording the removal to this chapel, in 1771, of the bones of seven benefactors of the church of Ely, whose names are recorded in small arches beneath:—Wulstan, Archbishop of York, died 1023; Osmund, a Swedish bishop, died about 1067; Alwin, bishop of Elmham, died 1029; Ælfgar, bishop of Elmham, died 1029; Ednoth, bishop of Dorchester, killed by the Danes in 1016; Athelstan, bishop of Elmham, died about 996; and Brithnoth, duke of Northumbria, killed in battle by the Danes 991. Bishop Osmund, who came to England from Sweden when a very aged man, remained for some time attached to the household of Edward the Confessor; and then ended his days at Ely. Duke Brithnoth had visited the monastery before setting out to attack the Northmen on the coast of Essex, and bestowed many manors on the monks, on condition that, if he fell in battle, they should bring his body to Ely for interment, which they did. The remains of these seven benefactors were first interred in the Saxon church; and were removed to the Norman



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EARLY COFFIN-LID IN THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE CHOIR.

cathedral in 1154. The small coffers which contained them were afterwards placed in the north wall of Alan of Walsingham's choir; where they were found when the choir was altered (see § xv.) in 1770. They were then re-interred in the chapel.

At the end of the chapel, under a window filled with very heavy dark stained glass by Evans (representing the four Evangelists, with St. John the Baptist in the centre), is a high canopied altar-tomb for Bishop SPARKE, died 1836.

XXV. In its architecture the *south choir-aisle* generally resembles the north; but with marked differences between the plan of the vaults of the two aisles, the mouldings of the ribs, and the irregularities in the masonry, shewing conclusively that the work was begun on the south side. The window adjoining Bishop West's chapel is a memorial for ASHLEY SPARKE, "qui obiit in armis Balaclavæ, Oct. 25, 1854."

On the floor under this window is a remarkable fragment of a monument displaying very early sculpture, found in 1829 in St. Mary's Church, Ely, beneath the flooring of the nave. [Plate VIII.] An angel with wings raised above the head, bears in the folding of his robe a small naked figure (the soul) apparently of a bishop, since a crozier projects at the side. The hands of this small figure are spread open in front, thumb touching thumb. The angel wears a kind of cope, ornamented at the sides. Round his head is a large circular nimbus with a jewelled rim; and the wings are thrown up grandly at the back,

filling nearly all the upper part of the arch under the canopy. This is raised on long shafts, and shews a mass of buildings with circular arches above the head. On the inside rim is the inscription, "S^c S. Michael oret p' me." The slab, the lower part of which is gone, is of Purbeck marble. The work is no doubt very early Norman, and of the highest interest. The seventh bay, from the west, exhibits a large blocked arch, in which has been placed the marble recumbent effigy of the late Professor SELWYN (died 1875) by Mr. Nicholls.

XXVI. Against the south wall the monument in the sixth bay is of Bishop GUNNING (1675—1684), a reclining figure leaning his mitred head on his left elbow: "Vitam egit cælibem, angelicam," says the inscription. In the fourth bay is the very striking alabaster effigy of Bishop HEATON (1600—1609). He wears a scull-cap, his raised hands are clasped in prayer, and he is attired in a richly figured cope, a very late example of this vestment;—in the third bay that of Robert STEWARD, Esq. (died 1570), in a richly coloured heraldic tabard, reclining uncomfortably with his left elbow supported by a helmet;—in the second that of Sir Mark STEWARD (died 1603), with an effigy clad in complete armour, of which it is a good example, reposing under a Doric temple;—in the first bay the white marble effigy of Bishop ALLEN, in his episcopal robes, rising and looking around with wonder, by Ternoult, not too good.

On the other side of the aisle at the back of the

stalls are the monuments of Bishop MOORE (1707—1714), an amateur physician as the inscription indicates:—

“ Jam licet improba mors satiet se corpore Moori
Præsulis et Medici; sed nec inultus obit; ”—

blubbering cherubs watch on either side of the monument;—of Bishop BUTTS (1738—1747), with bust; and of Bishop GREENE (1723—1738), with an urn between composite columns.

On the floor are the matrices of many brasses which have disappeared; and two good perfect ones, the first for Dean TYNDALL, Master of Queens' College, Cambridge, died 1614, who is represented in his robe, with a square-cut beard. The inscription runs—

“ Usquequo, Domine, Usquequo. The body of the worthy and reverende prælata, Umphry Tyndall, doth here expect the coming of our Saviour.

“ In presence, government, good actions, and in birth,
Grave, wise, courageous, noble was this earth.
The poore, the Church, the College, say here lies
A Friend, a Dean, a Master,—true, good, wise.”

On a small brass plate was a curious inscription, which appears to have been restored away, recording

“ Ursula { Tyndall by birth,
 { Coxee by choice,
 { Upcher in age and for comfort.”

The other brass is that of Bishop GOODRICH (1534—1554), very interesting as an example of the episcopal vestments worn after the early Reformation. In his right hand he holds the Bible; and the great seal of

England hangs below. Goodrich was made Lord Chancellor in 1561. "Magnus tandem Angliæ factus Cancellarius" runs the inscription, "charior ne Principi propter singularem prudentiam, an amabilior populo propter integritatem et abinentiam fuerat ad judicandum est perquam difficile." Observe the renaissance character of the ornaments on the chasuble and other vestments. The *iron gates* of the choir-aisles are modern, by Skidmore: that of the south aisle being a gift of G. Alan Lowndes, of Barrington Hall, Essex, that of the north aisle, of the late Dean Peacock; very rich and excellent in design. The flowers and corn in the upper part of that leading into the south aisle, coloured and gilt, should be specially remarked.

XXVII. The *Chapter Library* is arranged in the east aisle of the south transept, which was long since enclosed for the purpose. The collection is principally historical and theological; but it contains nothing calling for especial notice.

XXVIII. Through a passage opening from the north-east corner of the north transept we enter the *Lady-chapel*, which was formerly approached through the canopied arch already noticed in the north choir aisle. When perfect, it was one of the most beautiful and elaborate examples of the Decorated period to be found in England; and it will still amply repay the most careful study, as "a perfect storehouse of statuary and elaborate tabernacle-work" (*Stewart*). But the proportions are not pleasing.

It is decidedly too broad for its height, and it suffers from excess of decoration. On the destruction of the church of St. Cross this chapel was assigned to the parishioners of Holy Trinity as their parish church. In this character this beautiful building was allowed to sink to the lowest depths of degradation. The interior was filled with square pews of the rudest make. The rich sculpture was coated with successive layers of whitewash. Damp and decay seemed to claim Walsingham's lovely creation as their own. The last few years, however, have witnessed a favourable change. The interior has been fitted with open oak benches, the whitewash has been cleared away, and the whole building has received repair and restoration.

The first stone of the Lady-chapel was laid on the Festival of the Annunciation, 1321, by Alan of Walsingham, architect of the octagon, who was at the time sub-prior of the monastery. The work was continued for twenty-eight years under the superintendence of John of Wisbech, one of the monks, and finished in the time of Bishop de L'Isle, 1349, when Alan of Walsingham had become prior, in which year John of Wisbech is recorded to have died of the plague. John, whilst digging the foundations, is said to have found a brass pot full of money, with which he paid the workmen as long as it lasted^p. He received contributions also from different quarters; and the Bishop, Simon de Montacute, gave largely toward the work,—“like Simon the high-priest, the son of Onias,” says the

^p Monach. Eliens., ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 651.

Monk of Ely, "who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the temples^a."

Although John of Wisbech superintended the work, the architect was in all probability Alan of Walsingham. The chapel is a long parallelogram of five bays, with five windows on either side, the tracery in which is alike. The east end is nearly filled by a large window of seven lights, the design of which is unusual, and suggests the approaching change from Decorated to Perpendicular. At the west end is another large window, differing in tracery, inserted by the executors of Bishop Barnet in 1374. Both east and west windows have transoms. The roof is an elaborate lierne-vault, resembling that of the Decorated portion of the choir. Between all the side windows is rich tabernacle-work with canopies, from which the figures have disappeared; and along the wall beneath runs a series of niches and complex tabernacle-work, upon which every possible decoration of architecture sculpture and painting has been unsparingly bestowed. This is formed by three arches in each bay, with projecting canopies, and spandrils above filled with sculpture. This arcade, with its brackets and canopies, deserves especial notice. The reredos below the east window was probably the work of Bishop Fordham, 1390. "The masonry of the middle pair of mullions of the window, which are of unusual solidity, shews that the reredos and east window were originally combined with some decorative

^a Ecclus. i. 1.

structure which stood on a solid platform extending across the chapel, considerably raised above the level of the floor. A large figure of the Virgin, often mentioned in the chapel-keeper's rolls, probably obstructed the middle light from the sill of the transom" (*Rev. D. J. Stewart*, p. 141). The whole has been terribly shattered. The Protector's injunctions were obeyed but too well; yet much of the foliage and lesser details has remained uninjured beneath the successive coats of whitewash, now happily removed.

The position of this Lady-chapel is unusual. The Lady-chapel at Peterborough, of earlier date (1278), but now destroyed, was, however, similarly placed. Other examples of Lady-chapels added elsewhere than at the eastern end, occur at Oxford, Rochester, Durham, and Bristol. In nearly all these cases, the most honourable position, at the eastern end of the church, was reserved for the shrine of the local saint,—as St. Cuthbert at Durham, and St. Etheldreda at Ely.

XXIX. A staircase in the north transept leads to the upper parts of the cathedral; the most interesting portion of which is the timber bracing of the roof of the octagon, added some time after its completion, in order to strengthen the entire work. A fine interior view, looking westward, is obtained from the passage at the base of the upper tier of windows at the east end; and a vast panorama of the fens and lowlands of Cambridgeshire, with the Ouse winding through them, is gained from the summit of the western tower, which is ascended from the south-west transept.

XXX. Passing out of the cathedral by the western porch, we proceed to notice the exterior. Beyond the ruined north-west transept, the fall of which has already (§ v.) been noticed, a view is obtained of the great *western tower*, the greater part of which was the work of Bishop RIDEL (1174—1189). The gradual development of the Early English style may be traced in its successive stories. The octagon itself, with its buttressing turrets, was added during the Decorated period; and was originally crowned with a slender spire of wood, which was removed at the end of the last century. The pierced openings in the parapet of the tower and in the upper part of the buttress turrets occasionally produce beautiful and unusual effects of light.

The Perpendicular windows inserted in the triforium of the nave in 1469 may here be remarked; as well as the buttressing turrets, with their spire-like terminations, at the end of the great transept. A portion of the north-west corner of this north transept fell in 1699; but was rebuilt, and the original stone-work carefully replaced, under the care of Sir Christopher Wren. The part rebuilt may, however, be readily traced on the exterior, though scarcely within. The east wall of the north transept, being partially hidden by the Lady-chapel, was happily allowed to remain unaltered, and deserves attention as the only part of the exterior where the original design of the Norman triforium and clerestory can be seen, the triforium wall preserving its ancient height.

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THE EAST END

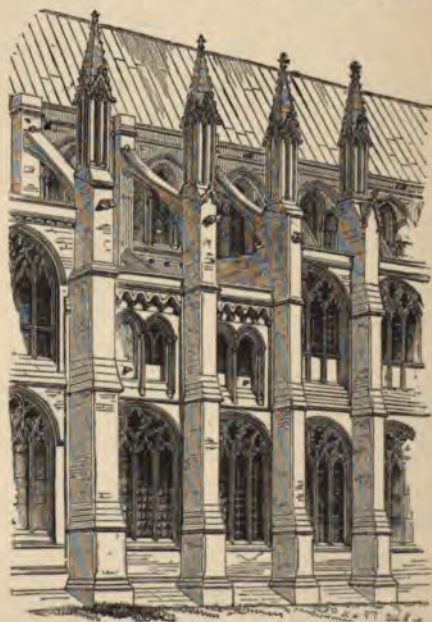
The central *Octagon*, from whatever part it is observed, groups well with the lines of the transept and nave, and with the transept turrets. The wide under portion is flat roofed, with turrets at the angles : between which runs a pierced parapet. The very beautiful tracery of the windows in the smaller sides of the octagon should here be noticed from the exterior ; as well as the arcade above, pierced with lights for the inner roof, six in the larger sides, three in the smaller. The lantern rises in two stories, with slender buttresses at the angles. The upper story was originally designed for bells, which remained there till 1669, when the chapter accounts shew a charge for removing them. The bell-frames existed till the repairs by Essex. The groovings worked by the bell-ropes are still to be seen in the timber-work within. The whole has very recently sustained a complete restoration, including the completion of the spirelets crowning the octagonal angular turrets—which were left unfinished *circa* 1330—as a memorial of the late Dean Peacock.

XXXI. Buttresses with high pinnacles rise between the bays of the Lady-chapel ; above the east window of which is a series of niches, once filled with figures.

The *East End* of the cathedral itself (Bishop Hugh's work) is a grand example of Early English [Plate IX.]; and rises in fine contrast with the short green turf which closes quite up round it. Buttresses with niches and canopies rise on either side of the three tiers of windows (the uppermost of which lights the

roof), the clustered shafts dividing which, with all their mouldings and details, will amply repay notice. One of the principal buttresses has been crowned with a crocketed pinnacle from the designs of Mr. Salvin, at the cost of Mr. Beresford Hope. It can hardly be called successful. Remark also the varied forms of the foiled ornaments in the spandrils and in the gable. The alterations made by Bishops Alcock and West at the extremities of the aisles may also be here observed.

Passing to the south side of the choir, remark the



South Aisle of Choir—Exterior

flying buttresses with their lofty pinnacles which unite the wall of the triforium with the clerestory. These are of Decorated character, and were no doubt added when the triforium itself was altered, early in the fourteenth century. (See § XVI.) The original form of the triforium windows may be seen in the two bays of the choir between the Decorated work and Bishop Hugh's. The change made here has already been pointed out from within. (§ XVI.) The southern wall and coupled lancets of Bishop Hugh's triforium, with the cornice of trefoiled arches, still remain in these two bays.

The windows of the eastern aisle of the south transept, now lighting the Library, are very pure examples of late Early English—two-light with cinquefoiled circles in the head.

The recessed Perpendicular window in the upper part of the south transept is curious, and should be noticed.

XXXII. Traces of the slype, or passage to the cemetery, may be seen at the south end of this transept. The *Cloisters* themselves lay as usual under the south side of the nave. Their extent can be accurately traced by walls and foundations, but of the actual cloister very little is left, beyond a fragment of the east walk which forms a covered entrance to the south aisle of the nave, and a portion of the north walk, preserved, we are told, to make a wall for the Dean's garden. Part of this walk has been roofed over to serve as a choristers' vestry and library. These remains of the

cloister are of the latest Perpendicular, erected in 1509, and are of little interest. Two Norman doorways, much enriched, open into the nave on this side of the church. That at the eastern end of the nave-aisle was the *Monks' entrance*, and has a trefoiled heading, with figures holding pastoral staves in the



Sculpture from the Prior's Door.

spandrils, and twisted dragons above. The foliage and mouldings, which are very rich and involved, indicate, like the heading of the doorway, its late or transitional character. The lower entrance, at the south-west angle of the cloisters, was the *Prior's door* [*Title-page*], and is far more elaborate than that of the monks. In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole, supported by angels. The curious grotesques and ornaments deserve careful notice. Both doorways may be compared with the Norman work in the lower part of the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, which is of similar character, and nearly of the same date. The Chapter-house, which stood in the open space to the south of the south transept, has entirely disappeared.

The exterior of the south-west transept indicates the different dates which have already been pointed out from within. (§ v.) The upper portion of the transept walls, and of the lofty octangular flanking

turrets, are Early English, the lower part late Norman. Buttresses, flat in the under story, and passing first into double shafts and then into a single one, run up in the centre of each side, and divide the tiers of windows and blind arcades.

XXXIII. The remains of the *Conventual Buildings* are extensive and interesting. The most ancient portions are a Norman crypt under part of the Prior's Lodge, and some Norman fragments in the long building stretching north of "Ely Porta"—the great gate of the monastery. This range of buildings was built on vaults, and consisted of a series of long narrow rooms, which may have been used for the accommodation of guests. It now serves as the Free School of the College and the houses of the Head Master and of the Precentor. The whole mass of the buildings, gray and picturesque, with their ivied walls, their green courts and gardens, covers a considerable space, and suggests the great size and importance of the ancient monastery.

A short distance east of the south transept are the piers and arches of the *Infirmary*, of late Norman date, built into the walls of the canons' houses, to which its central aisle forms a passage of entrance. The mouldings of the arches and all the details deserve notice.

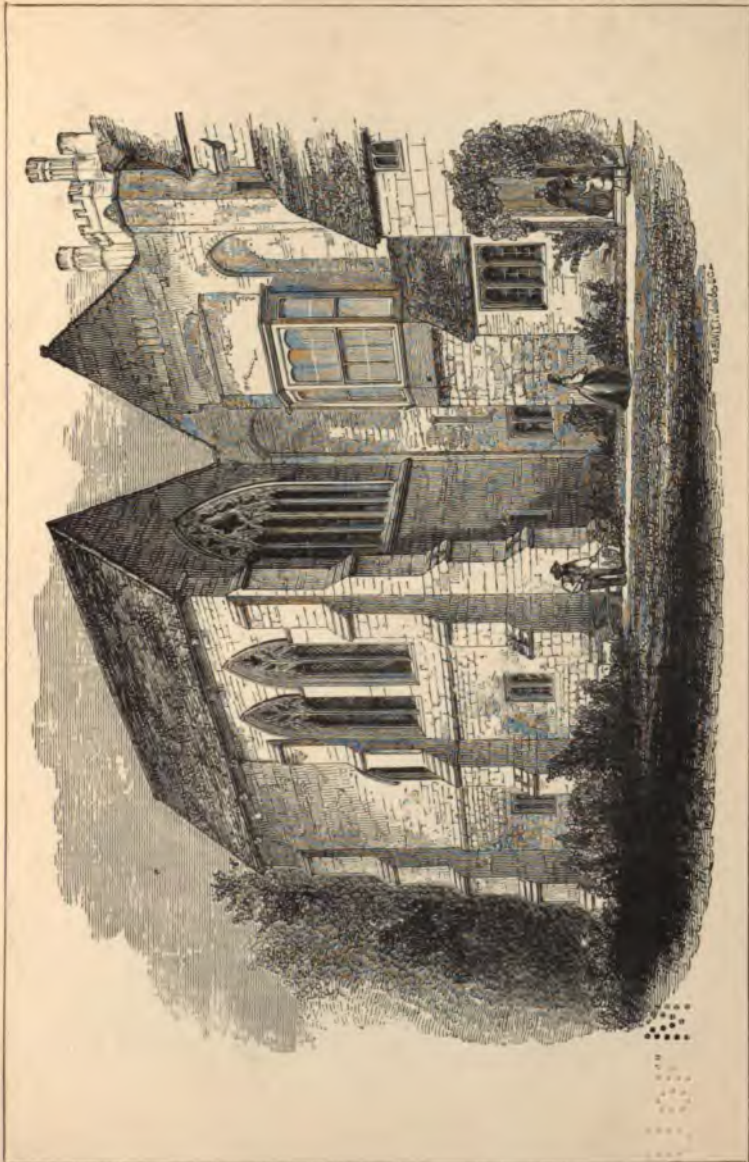
The *Infirmary* was built on the usual model. Its plan was that of a church with nave, side-aisles, and chancel, the former serving as the common hall, the beds being placed in the aisles, and the chancel forming the chapel of the sick brethren. The nave is of nine bays; the chancel of four bays, with a projecting

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sacrarium, which preserves its vaulting, being incorporated in one of the canonical residences. The roofless nave is still crossed by the chancel arch of Transition-Norman character. On the north side was the "Gent-hall," built by Alan of Walsingham, as a hall for those who were recovering from sickness. It now forms a canonical house, and is little altered. The basement retains three vaulted bays. At the west end are five Early English arches, each of which incloses a double arch, which is again subdivided into two, belonging to the "dark cloister" leading into the Infirmary from the vaults under the dormitory, which ran southwards from the wall of the south transept. A fragment of this vault exists in the offices of one of the canons' houses, now blocked up.

The *Deanery* has been constructed from the ancient *Guesten Hall*, dating from the thirteenth century, and still retains its long roof, with a foiled opening in the upper part of the west wall. The *Prior's Lodge* extended beyond it, south; and was built round a small quadrangle. The high windows of the prior's great hall remain in a house adjoining *Prior Crawden's Chapel* [Plate X.],—a small but very interesting example of a domestic chapel, of Decorated date, founded by Prior John of Crawden, who died in 1441, and probably designed by Alan of Walsingham. The window-tracery, the niches, and the ancient tiles at the altar should all be noticed. [Plate XI.] The chapel, which had been converted into bed-rooms, has been restored.

The adjoining house, occupied as a canonical resi-



PRIOR CRAWDEN'S CHAPEL, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

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dence, also formed part of the Prior's Lodge. The vaulted basement is the oldest part of the monastery existing, and may have been built in Abbot Simeon's time. A magnificent hall was erected over it in the reign of Edward III., of which there still remain traces of a large window which lighted it from the south, a door arch, and a fireplace, which is "perhaps the most magnificent example of a fourteenth-century fireplace in England. Its detail is very elaborate, and it has four beautiful brackets, which appear to have been intended for candlesticks."

At some distance south is "Ely Porta," the principal entrance to the monastery, begun in the year of Prior Buckton's death, 1396. The room above the archway is appropriated to the use of the King's Grammar-school, founded in 1541 by Henry VIII., and placed under the control of the Dean and Chapter.

On the north side of the monastery an entrance remains beneath a tower opposite the Lady-chapel. The residences of the *Sacrist* and *Elemosynarius* were in this range of building, abutting on the street. The canonical residence which forms the eastern portion of this range, was the old almonry. Like most monastic offices, it consisted of a long narrow building, with a vaulted basement. This last still exists, and is divided by a row of octagonal columns down the centre. There are traces of a triplet in the east gable.

XXXIV. The *Bishop's Palace*, west of the cathedral,

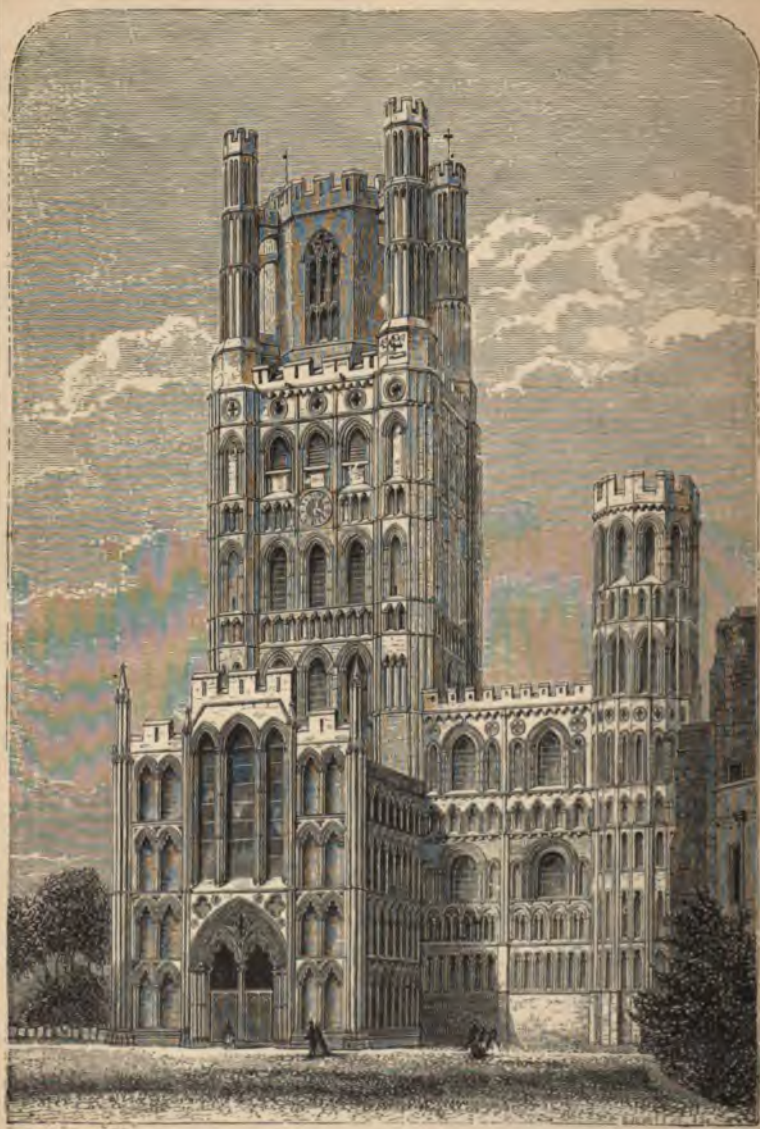
* Parker's Domestic Architecture (Fourteenth Century), p. 277.

dates for the most part from the time of Henry VII., of which it is a good example. The turreted wings were built by Bishop ALCOCK (1486—1501), whose arms are on the front of the eastern wing. The gallery adjoining the western wing was the work of Bishop GOODRICH (1534—1554), *temp.* Edward VI. A gallery formerly crossed the road, leading from the north-east wing of the palace to the south-west transept of the cathedral.

In the palace is preserved the very curious "Tabula Eliensis;" a copy (which cannot be earlier than the time of Henry VII.) of one which formerly hung in the great hall of the monastery. The "Tabula" represents forty Norman knights, each in company with a monk, and each having his shield of arms above him, with his name and office. The knights are said to have been placed by the Conqueror in the monastery, after the taking of the Isle of Ely: they became so friendly with the monks, that on their departure the brethren "brought them as far as Haddenham in procession, with singing;" and afterwards placed the "Tabula" in their hall for a perpetual memory of their guests. The meaning and true history of the "Tabula" are quite uncertain, and can scarcely be even guessed at. None of the monastic historians of Ely refer to it. It will be found engraved in Bentham's "History of Ely," and in Fuller's "Church History."

XXXV. The best *general view* of the west front will be obtained either from the end of the lawn

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VII
VIEW OF THE WEST END, FROM THE SOUTH WEST.

fronting the Bishop's Palace, or from a point at the side of the lawn, about halfway down. [Plate XII.] From the north-east corner of the Market-place there is a good view of the east end of the cathedral; and the south front of the west tower and transept rises very grandly above the road by which Ely is approached from the railway station. A striking view of the nave and western tower may be gained from the end of the lane of houses in which are the arches of the Infirmary. (§ XXXIII.) From this point the open spaces between the buttress-turrets, and the great western tower, as well as the open lancets of the turrets themselves, produce very striking effects.

Of the entire cathedral, the best general views are—from a bridge over the railway not far from the station, on the east side [*Frontispiece*], and that from the mound in the park on the south side near the Ely Porta, now known as Cherry Hill. The enormous length of the vast structure is well seen from here. There is an excellent distant view from Stuntney-hill, a slight rise on the Newmarket-road about two miles from Ely. The cathedral is as completely a landmark to the whole of the Fen country as is the great tower of Mechlin to the lowlands of Brabant; and its glories, thus recorded in monastic verse, are still the pride of the entire district:—

“ Hæc sunt Elyæ, Lanterna, Capella Mariæ,
Atque Molendinum, multum dans Vineæ vinum.
Continet insontes, quos vallant undique pontes:
Hos ditant montes; nec desunt flumina, fontes.
Nomen ab anguillâ ducit Insula nobilis illa.”

ELY CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

A MONASTERY for both men and women was founded at Ely by St. Etheldreda, in the year 673. It was destroyed during the great Danish invasion in 870; and in 970 was refounded by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, for Benedictine monks. In 1109 this monastery was made the seat of a new bishopric, taken out of the great diocese of Lincoln, and embracing the whole of Cambridgeshire.

St. Etheldreda*, the foundress of the original monastery, and one of the most celebrated of English saints, was the daughter of Anna, King of the East Anglians, who fell in battle with Penda of Mercia in the year 654. After his death his wife Hereswytha took refuge in the convent of Chelle, near Paris: and his four daughters, Sexburga, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga, all, at different periods, retired from the world, and became distinguished patronesses of the monastic life. Two years before her father's death Etheldreda had become the wife of Tondberct, "King" of the South Gyrvians, or "fenmen," (*gyr*, A.-S., 'a fen') whose district lay in the border-land between Mercia and East Anglia. Etheldreda received from Tond-

* The best and earliest authority for the life of St. Etheldreda is Beda, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. ch. xix. A life compiled in the twelfth century by Thomas of Ely is printed in the second volume of Mabillon's *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, and (partly) in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

beret the Isle of Ely as her dower; and on her husband's death, three years after her marriage, she retired there, induced as much by the solitude as by the protection afforded by the surrounding marshes. Her widowhood continued for five years, when she was again sought in marriage by Egfrid of Northumbria. Etheldreda is said to have made a vow of perpetual virginity, which was respected by both her husbands, and in the twelfth year of her marriage with Egfrid she obtained his leave to put into execution a long-formed project, and received the veil from the hands of Bishop Wilfrid, at Coldingham in Berwickshire, where St. Ebba, aunt of King Egfrid, had founded a monastery^b. Egfrid, however, soon repented of his permission, and set out for Coldingham with a band of followers, intending to take his Queen from the monastery by violence. By the advice of the Abbess, Etheldreda fled, to take refuge in her old home at Ely; and immediately on leaving the monastery, with her two attendant nuns, Sevenna and Severa, she climbed a hill named Colbert's Head, on which she was seen by Egbert and his followers. A miracle, however, was, according to the legend, wrought in her favour. The sea swept inland, and surrounded the hill, on which the three consecrated virgins remained in prayer for seven days, until Egbert, who had tried in vain to approach them, retired in despair. A spring of fresh water broke forth from the rock at the prayer of Etheldreda; and the ascend-

^b Dr. Hook's judgment of St. Etheldreda, although without doubt true in itself, seems hardly to make sufficient allowance for the difference between the seventh century and the nineteenth. "Her fanaticism had in it a tinge of insanity. In defiance of Scripture, of decency, and of common sense, she repudiated her marriage vow, and encouraged in her folly by the less excusable folly, if not worse, of Wilfred, she determined to separate from her husband and become a nun. Egfrid, with whom the Archbishop of Canterbury (Theodorus) agreed, regarded the separation in the light of a divorce, and married again."—*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i. p. 150.

ing and descending footprints of the three nuns, "impressed on the hill side as on melted wax," were long afterwards appealed to in proof of the miracle. Continuing her flight to Ely, Etheldreda halted for some days at Altham, near Winttingham, where she founded a church; and near this place occurred the "miracle of her staff." Wearied with her journey, she one day slept by the wayside, having fixed her staff in the ground at her head. On waking she found the dry staff had burst into leaf; it became an ash tree, the "greatest tree in all that country;" and the place of her rest, where a church was afterwards built, became known as 'Etheldredestow.'

On her arrival at Ely, Etheldreda commenced (A.D. 673) the foundation of a monastery for both sexes, as was then not uncommon; the site of which she fixed at Cradendune, about a mile south of the existing cathedral, where, according to a later tradition, a church had been founded by St. Augustine. From this place, however, the building was almost at once removed to the high ground where the cathedral now stands,—from which the original church of St. Etheldreda was placed a short distance westward. St. Wilfrid, the famous Bishop of Northumbria, installed Etheldreda as abbess of the new community, which, with the exception of Peterborough, and perhaps of Thorney, was the earliest of the great monasteries of the fens*. Etheldreda ruled it until 679, when her deathbed was attended by her "priest," Huna, who buried her in the churchyard of her monastery, and himself spent the rest of his life as a hermit, on one of the islands of the marshes^d.

* The dates of the foundations of the principal fen-land monasteries are as follows:—Peterborough (Medeshamstede), A.D. 664; Thorney (Ancarig ?) *circa* 665 (?) if the charter inserted in the Bodleian MS. of the Saxon Chron. is to be trusted; Ely, 673; Crowland, 719; Ramsey, 974.

^d Now known as "Honey" (Huna's) Island, not far from Mauea.

A remarkable miracle is recorded by Bede as having occurred in the year of her death. A youth named Ymma, who had been one of Etheldreda's house-thegns, was desperately wounded in a battle on the Trent, between Egfrid of Northumbria and Ethelred of Mercia. He lay senseless for a day and a night, and then, recovering, managed to drag himself from the battle-field, when he was taken prisoner by the Mercians. But no chains could bind him. They fell off perpetually at the "third hour of the day," when his brother Tunna, the abbot of a monastery, who thought him dead, used to say a mass for his soul. He was at last set free, and the merits of his former mistress, St. Etheldreda, were thought to have assisted in loosing the chains of the captive. Sexburga, sister of St. Etheldreda, who had married Erconbert of Kent, and on his death had founded a monastery in the Isle of Sheppey, had withdrawn to Ely during Etheldreda's lifetime, and became abbess on her death. Sixteen years later she determined to translate the body of her sister into the church, and for this purpose sent out certain of the brethren to seek a block of stone from which a shrine might be made. They found a coffin of white marble among the ruins of Roman Grantchester, close to Cambridge), and in this the body of the Saint, which was found entire and incorrupt, was duly laid, and removed into the church*. Sexburga was afterwards herself interred near it, as was her daughter Ermenilda, the third abbess. The bodies of Sexburga and Ermenilda, both of whom were revered as saints, were afterwards enshrined, and were removed, together with that of St. Etheldreda, into the existing cathedral. The three abbesses,

* "Invenerunt juxta muros civitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum. . . . Mirum vero in modum ita aptum corpori virginis sarcophagum inventum est, ac si ei specialiter præparatum fuisset; et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabrefactus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit."—*Beda, H. E.*, lib. iv. ch. xix

together with St. Withburga, another sister of St. Etheldreda, who founded a monastery at Dereham in Norfolk, but whose relics were afterwards removed to Ely, were regarded as the especial patronesses of the Isle of Ely; and such was the sanctity conferred upon the soil by the holiness of their lives, and by the possession of their relics, that Thomas of Ely, who wrote the history of his monastery in the twelfth century, suggests, as a more fitting etymology than "eel's island," the Hebrew words *El*, 'God,' and *ge*, 'earth,' as though the island had been marked out from the beginning for God's especial service^f. The translation of St. Etheldreda, or St. Awdrey, as she was generally called, was celebrated on the 17th of October, when pilgrims flocked to her shrine from all quarters. A great fair was then held adjoining the monastery, at which silken chains or laces, called 'Etheldred's chains,' were sold, and displayed as 'signs' of pilgrimage. The word 'tawdry' (*St. Awdrey*) is said to be derived from these chains, and from similar 'flimsy and trivial' objects, sold at this fair.

St. Werburga, the fourth abbess, daughter of Ermenilda by King Wulfere of Mercia, was buried at Hanbury in Staffordshire, and was afterwards translated to Chester, of which church and monastery she became the great patroness. (See CHESTER CATHEDRAL.) She is the last abbess whose name is recorded. The monastery was destroyed during the Danish invasion of the year 870, when Crowland and Peterborough also perished; and although a body of secular clergy was soon afterwards established on its site, Ely had entirely lost its ancient importance, when the monastery was refounded in 970, by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who was also the restorer of Peterborough. Athelwold purchased the whole district of the Isle of Ely from King Eadgar, and settled it on his monastery, which he

^f "Digne quidem Insula tali onomate signatur; quæ ab initio Christianitatis et fidei in Anglia Dominum Jesum Christum maxime credere cepit et colere."—*Thomas Eliensis*, i. 33.

filled with Benedictines, over whom he placed Brythnoth, Prior of Winchester, as abbot. Among the king's gifts to the monastery were a golden cross filled with relics, which had been part of the Bishop's "purchase money," and his own royal mantle, of purple embroidered with gold^s.

From the year of this second foundation until the Conquest, Ely continued to increase in wealth and importance, and its abbots were among the most powerful Churchmen of their time. From the reign of Ethelred to the Conquest they were Chancellors of the King's Court alternately with the abbots of Glastonbury, and of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, each holding the office for four months. It was when approaching Ely at the Feast of the Purification, when the abbot entered on his office, that Knut is said to have composed the famous verse,—which, however, in its present form is at least two centuries later:—

"Merie sungen the Muneches binnen Ely
Tha Cnut ching rew ther by.
Rowe ye cnites noer the lant,
And hore we thes Muneches sang."

The Atheling Alfred, son of Ethelred, after his seizure at Guildford in the year 1036, was conveyed to Ely, where his eyes were put out, and where he died. Some of the earlier years of the Confessor's life were spent in the Saxon monastery, on the altar of which he had been solemnly presented when an infant.

The history of the monastery, at the time of the Conquest, belongs to that of England. Thurstan, the abbot, was born at Wichford, near Ely, and had been brought up in the monastery from a child. He espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling; and from 1066, the year of the Conquest, to 1071, the island formed a Saxon stronghold, which was only taken at last with considerable difficulty. Hereward, the English champion, escaped at this time; but nearly

* "De quâ Insula [a mitre] facta est."

all those who had taken refuge in the island fell into the hands of the Norman king. The Abbot had already become weary of the long resistance, and had visited William secretly at Warwick, in the hope of making his peace with him. He was condemned, however, to pay a fine of a thousand marks, and hardly escaped deposition at the council of Winchester. He died in 1072, the last Saxon abbot of Ely. Theodwin, a monk of Jumièges, and Godfrey, who had come to England with Theodwin, ruled the monastery in succession from 1072 to 1081 (the first alone with the title of abbot), but without receiving the benediction and investiture. During Godfrey's government of the monastery, its ancient rights and privileges were judicially examined by a court held at Kentford on the Suffolk border, and all were restored to it entire, as in the year of King Edward's death. In 1081 Godfrey became Abbot of Malmesbury; and

[A.D. 1081—1093.] SIMEON, Prior of Winchester, brother of Walkelin, Bishop of that see, and a relative of the Conqueror, was appointed Abbot of Ely, who had been brought up as a monk at St. Ouen, when already in his eighty-seventh year. He recovered for his monastery the lands which had been allotted to the Normans during the siege of the island, and, like his brother Walkelin at Winchester, he laid the foundations of a new church. (Pt. I. § 1.) He died at the age of one hundred. On his death the abbey lands were seized by Ralph Flambard, the minister of Rufus, and no abbot was appointed until the accession of Henry I. in 1100; when

[A.D. 1100—1107.] RICHARD, son of Richard Earl of Clare, succeeded. He had been educated in the Abbey of Bec, in which he spent thirty years of his life, obtaining celebrity for his knowledge of philosophy and divinity. He completed the eastern portion of the new church (Pt. I. § 1.), and removed into it (Oct. 17, 1106) the bodies of the sainted Abbesses, St. Etheldreda, Sexburga, Ermenilda,

and Withburga. According to Thomas of Ely, Abbot Richard's church was one of the noblest in the kingdom. "Ut ad perficiendum idem opus (Ric. Abbas) studiosius insisteret, et huic operi solum vacaret, totum studium specialiter admovit; tamque decenti forma et quantitate quantum potuit, quoad vixit, ecclesiam a predecessore suo inceptam edificavit; ut si fama non invideat, et merito et veritatis titulo (utpote mendax veritatem non detrahat) in eodem Regno cunctis ecclesiis vel antiquitus constructis, vel nostro tempore renovatis, jure quodam compositionis et subtilis artificii privilegio et gratia ab intuentibus merito videatur preferenda."—(*Lib. Eliensis*, ii. cap. 143.) The conversion of the abbey into an episcopal see was first suggested by Abbot Richard, and was only prevented by his death. He was, however, the last abbot. Hervey le Breton, Bishop of Bangor, who had fled from the dangers of Wales to the court of Henry, was appointed "Administrator" of the abbey, until the election of a new abbot. He found the monks not unfavourable to the proposed change, which the King also approved. The consent of the Bishop of Lincoln was procured by the grant to his see of the manor of Spaldwick, belonging to the abbey; and in 1108, the Council of London, presided over by Archbishop Anselm, consented to the creation of the new bishopric. Hervey himself proceeded to Rome for the Papal confirmation of the see, with which he returned in 1109; and on June 27, in that year, he was himself transported from Bangor, as the first Bishop of Ely. Constant disputes with the Bishop of Lincoln, concerning his rights over the monastery, were perhaps the earliest inducements to the creation of the new see; but the great size of the diocese of Lincoln is expressly mentioned in the letters of the King and of Anselm to the Pope, Paschal II.; and it is also said that the King (Henry I.), aware how strongly the Isle of Ely was fortified by nature, was anxious to divide the great revenues of the abbey, and

thereby to render it less powerful in case of insurrection, by placing a bishop at its head.

The constitution of Ely, after its erection into a bishopric, resembled that of the other conventual cathedrals of England,—Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Bath, Rochester, Norwich, and Durham; in all which sees the bishops were also regarded as, in effect, abbots of the conventual establishments attached to them^b. The immediate government of the monks, however, devolved on the prior, whose place in the choir was the first stall on the left hand. The bishop retained that on the right hand, which he had already occupied as abbot. The full number of monks in the abbey was seventy, but this was rarely complete. The election of the bishop lay, nominally, with the prior and the monks, but was in fact constantly interfered with by king and pope, as elsewhere^c.

[A.D. 1109—1131.] HERVEY LE BRETON, the first Bishop of Ely, was greatly occupied in arranging the government of this see, which he left “possessed of much greater privileges, rights, and immunities than most others in the kingdom^d.” He divided the lands and revenues of the monastery between himself and the monks,—not altogether to the satisfaction of the latter; and “discharged himself and his successors from any obligation to support, build, or repair the fabric of the church, or any part thereof, leaving it entirely to the care of the monks^e.” Succeeding bishops,

^b “In Anglia sunt hodie xvii Episcopatus: in octo eorum sunt Monachi in sedibus Episcopalibus. Hoc in aliis provinciis aut nusquam aut raro invenies; sed ideo in Anglia hoc reperitur, quia primi prædicatores Anglorum S. Augustinus, Mellitus, Justus, Laurentius Monachi fuerant. In aliis novem Episcopalibus sedibus, Canonici seculares.”—*Annal. Waverleiensis*, ad ann. 1152.

^c “The custom of this convent was for the whole body to elect seven as their proctors; after which these seven proceeded to the election of the bishop.”—*Bentham's Ely*, p. 149.

^d Bentham's Ely.

^e Id.

however, as we have seen (Pt. I.), notwithstanding this "discharge," contributed largely toward the repair and rebuilding of their cathedral.

[A.D. 1133—1169.] NIGEL, Treasurer of Henry I., and nephew of the powerful Bishop Roger of Salisbury (see that Cathedral, Pt. II.), was consecrated to the see of Ely after it had been vacant for nearly two years. Like Bishop Roger, Nigel was immersed in the troubles and intrigues of the reign of Stephen, whom he at first supported. He emptied the monastic treasury to supply his personal wants, and stript off the silver from the shrine of Etheldreda to defray the pecuniary obligations his extravagance had incurred. At the council of Oxford in 1139, however, when Stephen, who seems to have feared their joining the side of Matilda, seized the bishops of Sarum and Lincoln, he would also have seized Bishop Nigel of Ely, had he not managed to escape to the castle of Devizes, then belonging to the Bishop of Sarum. Stephen laid siege to the castle, and threatened Nigel with the deaths of Bishop Roger and his son, if it were not at once surrendered. Nigel consented to the surrender on condition of his own liberty, and he withdrew to Ely, where he was joined by some of Matilda's adherents, and prepared to defend the place. But Stephen followed so rapidly that the Isle was surprised before Nigel could make any resistance. He himself escaped and joined the Empress Matilda at Gloucester. On Stephen's capture at Lincoln, Nigel recovered his see, and contrived to retain it until the King's death, in 1154. Henry II. made him one of his Barons of the Exchequer, "as he was judged to have most exact knowledge and skill in the forms and proceedings of that court," which he restored from the confusion into which it had fallen during the previous reign. At Ely Bishop Nigel built a castle, of which no traces remain; and at Cambridge he founded a hospital in honour of St. John the Evangelist, which continued under the care of his successors until 1510, when the lands and site of

it were surrendered to the executors of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who established on this foundation the present College of St. John.

[A.D. 1174—1189.] GEOFFRY RIDEL, Archdeacon of Canterbury, a royal chaplain and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, succeeded after a vacancy of four years. His adherence to the King's side during the struggle with Becket, and his excommunication by the Archbishop, who writes of him as "*archidiabolus noster, haud archidiaconus,*" rendered it necessary for him, on his election, to take an oath that he had "in no way contributed to the death of the Archbishop." Bishop Geoffry continued in high favour with the King, Henry II., after his elevation to the see of Ely. In 1179 he was made Chief of the King's Itinerant Justices in Cambridgeshire and seven adjoining counties. He was one of the executors of King Henry's will; and died at Winchester, whilst waiting there to receive the new King, Richard Cœur de Lion, on his arrival in England. At Ely, Bishop Geoffry carried on the "new work," and the western tower. (Pt. I. § 4.)

A.D. 1189—1197.] WILLIAM LONGCHAMP, a Norman of low birth, became Chancellor and Grand Justiciary of Richard I., who procured from the Pope Bishop William's nomination as Papal Legate, but not before he had paid a thousand marks for the dignity. On Richard's departure for the East, the Bishops of Ely and Durham were entrusted with the government of the kingdom south and north of the Trent. Longchamp, however, soon after the King's departure, arrested his colleague; and "assuming the utmost pomp and state, treated the kingdom as if it were his own, bestowing all places in Church and State on his relations and dependents." After a struggle with Prince John, the Bishop shut himself up in the Tower of London (which he had surrounded with a deep foss, to be flooded from the Thames), but was compelled to fly thence to Dover, where, as he was waiting on the beach, disguised as

a woman, for the ship in which he was to cross the channel, he was discovered, and imprisoned in the castle. On the intercession of other English bishops, however, he was released, and passed to Normandy, where he remained until Richard's return. In spite of the character given by most of the chroniclers to William Longchamp, he found able defenders in his own time, amongst whom were Peter of Blois, and Nigel Wireker, the monk of Canterbury, both of whom praise his justice and his gentleness. It is, moreover, not a little in his favour that Richard at once restored him to his confidence, and re-appointed him Chancellor, which office he held until his death at Poitiers in 1197, whilst proceeding on an embassy to the Pope. He was buried in a Cistercian abbey named Pinu (?); but his heart was brought to Ely, and entombed before the altar of St. Martin.

A.D. 1189—1215.] EUSTACE, Treasurer of York and Dean of Salisbury, an especial favourite of King Richard, who made him his Chancellor on the death of William Longchamp, was elected Bishop of Ely, at Walderail, in Normandy, by the Prior and Convent, summoned thither for this purpose by the King. He was one of the three bishops who (March 24, 1208) published the famous Interdict of Pope Innocent III. With the Bishops of London and Worcester, Eustace at once fled the kingdom, but returned with Stephen Langton in the following year, at John's request, in order to attempt an arrangement, which failed, and the Bishop of Ely again left England. He returned with the other bishops, after John's submission, on St. Margaret's Day (July 20, 1212). Two years afterwards (Feb. 1215) Bishop Eustace died at Reading, and was interred in his own cathedral. The Galilee, "Nova Galilea," was his work. (Part I. § III.)

On the death of Eustace, the monks elected Geoffry of Burgh, Archdeacon of Norwich, but revoked his election before it was published, and chose ROBERT OF YORK,

whom the King (John) refused to confirm. Robert, however, held the see, without consecration, for nearly five years, assuming to himself all the rights which belonged to it. He was a partizan of Lewis of France, and on the death of John crossed the channel, and "published false rumours of the King's death, to raise disturbances in this kingdom, and promote an invasion." A letter was accordingly despatched in the name of the young King, to the Pope, entreating him to annul Robert's election, and to provide a proper person for the see, since the Isle of Ely was the strongest place in the kingdom, and there was danger that Robert would give it into the hands of Lewis^m. Accordingly,

[A.D. 1223—1225.] JOHN PHERD (John de Fontibus), Abbot of Fountains, was preferred to the see by Papal authority.

[A.D. 1225—1228.] GEOFFRY OF BURGH, Archdeacon of Norwich, who had been elected five years before, succeeded. He was brother of the famous Hubert of Burgh, Earl of Kent, and is said to have been a man of considerable learning.

[A.D. 1229—1254.] HUGH OF NORTHWOLD, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, had been one of the King's Itinerant Justices for Norfolk, in 1227; and in 1235, after he became bishop of Ely, was sent ambassador, with others, to Raymond of Provence, to conclude a contract of marriage between his daughter Eleanor and the young King, Henry III. Matthew Paris, his contemporary, especially praises the piety, hospitality, and liberality to the poor, of Bishop Hugh, who did much for his see, and for the convent. The presbytery or eastern portion of the cathedral was his work. (Pt. I. § xvi.) At the dedication feast (Sept. 1252) he entertained magnificently the King,

^m "Certum est enim, quod civitas Elyensis est optima munitio regni nostri; et quod dictus Robertus ibi extitit preintrusus, ut, sicut res se habuit, reciperetur ibi Dominus Ludovicus."—*Rymer, Fædera*, i. p. 229.

Prince Edward his son, and a great company of nobles and prelates. The shrines and relics of the sainted abbesses were solemnly translated into Bishop Hugh's new building, and he was himself buried behind the high altar, at the feet of Etheldreda. His remarkable monument has been already described. (Part I. § xx.)

[A.D. 1255—1256.] WILLIAM OF KILKENY, Archdeacon of Coventry and Chancellor, was consecrated at Belley, in Savoy, by Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury. He resigned the office of Chancellor on becoming Bishop of Ely. Bishop William was highly distinguished as a canonist and civilian; and in 1256 was sent to negotiate a treaty between Henry III. and Alfonso of Castile, which he lived just long enough to complete. He died on the 22nd of September in that year, at Segovia, where he was buried. His heart was brought to Ely, and deposited on the north side of the presbytery, where his cenotaph, with effigy, remains. (Pt. I. § xx.)

[A.D. 1257—1286.] HUGH OF BALSHAM, sub-prior of Ely, was chosen by the monks in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had recommended Henry of Wingham, his Chancellor. The King accordingly refused to confirm the election, although the Chancellor consented to withdraw his pretensions. The King then endeavoured to get Adam de Marisco elected, a Franciscan whose learning had brought him into great repute at Oxford. Hugh, however, appealed to Rome, and obtained the confirmation of his election from the Pope, Alexander IV., by whom he was consecrated.

Hugh of Balsham is best remembered for his foundation of the first endowed college in Cambridge; in direct imitation of that which his contemporary, Walter of Merton, Bishop of Rochester, had just founded at Oxford. (See ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.—WALTER DE MERTON.) The statutes of Merton College, Oxford, were ratified by the founder and the King in 1274. In 1280 Bishop Hugh obtained a licence from Edward I., for founding a college

of students in Cambridge, "*secundum regulam scholarium Oxon. qui de Merton cognominantur.*" He at first intended to have converted the hospital of St. John, founded by his predecessor, Bishop Nigel, into a college; but changing his plan, he placed his scholars in "hostels," near St. Peter's Church, which he assigned to their use. The college subsequently became known as St. Peter's College, or "Peter House." The University celebrated annually a solemn commemoration of Bishop Hugh's death, which occurred in 1286. He was buried in his own cathedral, before the high altar.

[A.D. 1286—1290.] JOHN OF KIRKBY, Canon of Wells and of York, Archdeacon of Coventry and Wimborne, also Treasurer of Edward I., was only in deacon's order when elected. He was ordained priest by Archbishop Peckham at Feversham (Sept. 21), and consecrated the day after at Canterbury. As Treasurer, John of Kirkby was arbitrary and exacting, and in 1289, when the Parliament refused to grant an aid in discharge of the King's expenses in France, until Edward himself returned, the Treasurer levied heavy contributions throughout the kingdom, on his own authority. Such exactions were afterward rendered unlawful by the statute 25 Edw. I. (1297), which renounced as precedents the "aids, tasks, and prises" before taken, and decreed that they should be no more taken "but by the common assent of the realm." Bishop John died at Ely, and was interred in his own cathedral.

[A.D. 1290—1298.] WILLIAM DE LUDA (of Louth), although Archdeacon of Durham, was not in deacon's orders when elected. After his ordination as deacon and priest, by Archbishop Peckham, he was consecrated bishop by the Primate, assisted by seven of his suffragan bishops, in St. Mary's Church in Ely, where a provincial council was being held, concerning a subsidy to be granted to the King

* Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 3. (ed. 1855.)

by the clergy. Bishop William was Treasurer of the King's Wardrobe, and is called by T. Wikes, a contemporary historian, "*vir magnificus et eminentis scientiæ*." In 1296 the Bishop of Ely was one of the commissioners appointed to settle the conditions of a truce between France and England; and in 1297, after the King (Edw. I.) had ordered the temporalities of the clergy to be seized (see CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.—ARCHBISHOP WINCHELSEA), Bishop William was one of the chief mediators between the clergy and the King (who was himself at Ely in that year), and is said to have arranged the payment of the fifths by the former. The Bishop died on March 27, 1298. His beautiful tomb remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xix.)

[A.D. 1299—1302.] RALPH OF WALPOLE was translated to Ely from Norwich, by the authority of the Pope, after the convent had been unable to agree in their election. As Bishop of Norwich, Bishop Ralph had enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety, and at Ely he reformed many abuses, corrected the discipline of the monks, and revised the statutes of the convent, making some additions of his own. He was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1302—1310.] ROBERT OF ORFORD, Prior of the Convent, having been elected by way of compromise, Archbishop Winchelsea refused to confirm the election on the ground of his being illiterate. He appealed to Pope Boniface, who confirmed the election and consecrated him bishop. He refused to be installed by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, but took his seat by virtue of Papal authority. He was buried in his cathedral.

[A.D. 1310—1316.] JOHN OF KETENE (Ketton), had been Almoner of Ely. During his episcopate the Bishop of Glasgow, who had been sent to Rome to answer for his disloyalty to Edward II., was sent back to England by the Pope to be "kept in safe custody" until peace should be restored between England and Scotland. He was retained

for some time at Ely. Bishop John was interred in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1316—1337.] JOHN HOTHAM, one of the most distinguished benefactors of the church of Ely, had been much employed in public business, and on foreign embassies, before he became Bishop of Ely, and took a leading part in most of the public transactions of the feeble reign of Edward II. In 1317, the year after his consecration, he was made Treasurer of the Exchequer, and in the following year Lord Chancellor. At the fight of Myton-upon-Swale (Oct. 1319), when the English were routed by the Scots, under Robert Bruce, the Bishop narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He was afterwards appointed one of the commissioners who arranged a truce with the Scots for two years; and in 1323 received the King's commission for settling the affairs of Gascony, then in great disorder. Bishop Hotham joined Queen Isabella on her landing (Sept. 1326) at Orwell in Suffolk; and in January 1327, after the abdication of Edward II., the Great Seal was again delivered to the Bishop of Ely, who "caused to be engraven on the lower part of it, two flowers of the arms of France*."

During his first chancellorship, Bishop Hotham obtained from Edward II. a confirmation of all the former rights and liberties of the church of Ely; and in 1329 he procured a grant from the Crown to the prior and convent, entitling them to the custody of the see on every vacancy, during which time they were to receive the profits. He bought for the see much land adjoining the manor of Holborn, which had been given to the see by Bishop John of Kirkeby, and which from this time became one of the chief palaces of the bishop of Ely. During his episcopate the beautiful Lady-chapel was begun (1321) at Ely (Pt. I. § xxvii.); and the lower part of the octagon was com-

* Bentham, from Rymer, *Fœd.*, iv. p. 243.

pleted, together with much of the woodwork of the lantern. (Pt. I. § XL.) The cost of these great works was chiefly defrayed by the convent; but Bishop Hotham, at his death, left money for the rebuilding of the first three bays of the choir, which had been ruined by the fall of the tower. (Pt. I. § xv.)

Bishop Hotham died at Somersham, January 14, 1337, and was interred in his cathedral, behind the altar of the choir ("ad partem orientalem altaris in choro, versus magnum altare"). The shrines of St. Etheldreda and the three Abbesses were placed between two altars—the high altar at the extreme east end of the cathedral, and the "altar of the choir," which stood nearly at the junction of Bishop Hugh's work and Bishop Hotham's. It has already (Pt. I. § xx.) been suggested that the upper part of Bishop Hotham's monument may have served as a watching-chamber for the shrines. It has been stripped of its ornaments and figures, which are thus described:—"Ipse autem sepultus est . . . sub quadam pulchra structura lapidea, cum imagine Episcopi de alabastro, super tumulum ipsius erecta, cum 7 candelabris ex uno stipide decentissime procedentibus; et circa siquidem imagines de creatione hominis et ejectione ejusdem de Paradiso; quatuor etiam imagines regum armatorum, et 4 dracones [banners] ad 4 partes ejusdem structuræ."

[A.D. 1337—1345.] SIMON OF MONTACUTE was translated from Worcester. The convent had elected their prior, John of Crawden, a man of great worth,—whose brass has already been noticed (Pt. I. § xvii.); but their proceedings were set aside by the bull of Pope Benedict XII., which directed the translation to Ely of the Bishop of Worcester. Bishop Simon was a younger brother of William Lord Montacute, the first Earl of Salisbury of that creation, who was advanced to his new dignity in the same year

^v *Hist. Eliensis, ap. Angl. Sacr.*, i. 648.

(1337) in which his brother was translated to Ely. During this bishop's episcopate the lantern of the octagon and the new portion of the choir were completed, and the Lady-chapel was in progress. This, however, was not completed until 1349. Toward this work the Bishop gave large sums, and was buried before the altar of the new chapel.

[A.D. 1345—1361.] THOMAS DE LISLE, intruded by the Pope, Clement VI., in place of Allan of Walsingham, Prior of the Convent, and architect of the octagon, whom the monks had elected. He had been Prior of the Dominicans at Winchester, and was at Avignon on a mission to the Pope from Edward III., when the vacancy of the see of Ely was announced. In accordance with the policy of Edward III. (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II.—ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD), Bishop de Lisle was compelled, on his return to England, to "make a formal renunciation of all words contained in the Pope's bull of provision that were prejudicial to the King and the rights of his crown, and to declare that the holding the temporalities of the see proceeded of the King's grace and favour, and not by any authority from the Pope^a." Bishop de Lisle was a haughty and magnificent prelate, little in favour either with his convent or with the King. He is said, however, to have been an able preacher, and to have been zealous in discharging this duty of his office throughout his diocese:—"Egregius namque prædicator extitit; et per varia loca suæ dioceseos discurrens, velut fidelis dispensator et prudens, familiæ Dominicæ mensuram tritici distribuendo, verbum Dei in populo sibi commisso ferventi animo disseminavit." At Bishop de Lisle's consecration a glass vessel full of wine which stood on the altar broke suddenly,—"*sine tangentis manu*;" an omen, according to the chronicler, of the troubles he was to endure as bishop. For the greater part of his episcopate he was

^a Bentham, p. 160.

^r *Hist. Eliensis, ap. Angl. Sacr.*, i. 655.

engaged in constant disputes with Blanche Lady Wake, a daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and a powerful adversary. Her estates in Huntingdonshire adjoined the Bishop's manors; and questions of "limits and boundaries" led at last to manslaughter, to the loss of the King's favour, and to the Bishop's summons to the bar of the King's Bench. Bishop de Lisle, dreading imprisonment, fled to the Pope at Avignon, where, whilst the questions were still in debate, he died (June 1361), and was buried in a house of Dominican nuns there.

On his death the Pope appointed Reginald Brian, Bishop of Worcester, to the see of Ely, who died of the plague before his translation. The convent then elected, by royal licence, John Bockingham, Keeper of the Privy Seal; but the Pope by another provision appointed

[A.D. 1362, translated to Canterbury 1366.] SIMON LANGHAM, Abbot of Westminster, and Treasurer of England. It was on his translation to Canterbury, in 1366, that the monastic rhymes appeared:—

"Exultant cœli quia Simon venit ab Ely
Cujus in adventum flet in Kent millia centum."

(See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1366—1373.] JOHN BARNET, Archdeacon of London 1359, Bishop of Worcester in 1362, Treasurer of England, and translated to Bath in the following year, was, when very old and infirm, translated to Ely, by papal provision. During his episcopate the King replaced the stock and "implementa episcopatus," on the ten chief manors or palaces belonging to the see of Ely*, which had been made away with in the last five years of Bishop de Lisle's life, whilst he was at Avignon and the temporalities were in the

* These were—the palace at Ely; Ely-house, Holborn; Bishop's Hatfield and Hadham, in Hertfordshire; Somersham, in Huntingdonshire; Balsham and Ditton, in Cambridgeshire; Downham, Wisbech Castle, and Doddington, in the Isle of Ely.

King's hands. The bishops were, henceforth, compelled to take an oath, at the west door of their cathedral, on the day of enthronization, to leave this stock entire, or its value, to their successors.

Bishop Barnet died at Hatfield in 1373, and was buried at Ely, where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § XIX.)

[A.D. 1374., translated to York 1388.] THOMAS FITZ-ALAN OF ARUNDEL. In 1336, whilst still Bishop of Ely, Arundel was made Lord Chancellor. During his holding of the see, he nearly rebuilt the palace in Holborn. In 1388 he was translated to York, and thence, in 1396, to Canterbury. (See that Cathedral, Pt. II.) As archbishop, Arundel is chiefly memorable for his persecution of the Lollards. He died Feb. 1414.

[A.D. 1388—1425.] JOHN FORDHAM, Dean of Wells, and Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, a favourite of Richard II., and by him made Lord Treasurer 1386, was translated by Urban VI. to Ely, from Durham, to which he had been appointed by the Pope in 1381. The translation was not to the Bishop's advantage, since Durham was a see of far more wealth and importance than Ely. Little is recorded of this Bishop during his long episcopate of thirty-seven years.

[A.D. 1426—1435.] PHILIP MORGAN was translated by papal provision from Worcester. He was an eminent civilian, and had been chaplain to Henry V., who had employed him on many embassies. On the death of Archbishop Bowet, 1423, Morgan was put forward by the party of the Duke of Gloucester, and elected his successor in the see of York. Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, was the favourite of the Beaufort party, and on Morgan's applying to the Pope Martin V. for the confirmation of his election, he refused, saying he had nominated Fleming to the vacant throne. The Royal Council threatened Fleming with a *præmunire*, and he found it convenient to allow the Pope to translate him back to Lincoln, the Council meanwhile accepting

Kemp, Bishop of London, for York, and requiring the papal sanction to Morgan's translation to Ely. During his episcopate the University of Cambridge claimed entire freedom from the bishop's jurisdiction, on the authority of two bulls, of Honorius I. (A.D. 624) and of Sergius I. (A.D. 689); of which they judiciously professed to have only copies. The University appealed to Pope Martin V., who appointed the Prior of Barnwell, and John Deping, Canon of Lincoln, to determine the matter. Their sentence, afterwards confirmed by Pope Eugenius IV., was in favour of the University.

[A.D. 1438—1443.] LOUIS DE LUXEMBURG, Archbishop of Rouen, who had long supported the English interests in France, was, at the recommendation of Henry VI., appointed by the Pope "perpetual administrator" of the see of Ely, after the convent had elected Thomas Bouchier, Bishop of Worcester; whose election (although the Pope had at first confirmed it) was annulled. Louis de Luxemburg was the brother of the Count of St. Paul; and had been Chancellor of France and of Normandy, for Henry VI., under the Regent Bedford. The Regent, on the death of his first wife, married Jaquette, daughter of the Count of St. Paul, and niece of the Bishop^t, who in 1436 was elected Archbishop of Rouen. From this see, however, he probably had little benefit; since, on the decline of the English influence in France, he withdrew from the latter country, and established himself in England; where in 1438 he was placed in full possession of the "temporalities and spiritualities" belonging to the see of Ely. "He could not be elected Bishop of Ely without a violation of the institutions of the Church of England, or without exposing the electors to the penalties of a *præmunire*. Nevertheless

^t After the death of the Regent Bedford, his widow married Sir Richard Wodeville (Earl of Rivers), by whom she was the mother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV.

he could be appointed administrator of the see; and notwithstanding the opposition of Archbishop Chicheley, who for a while resisted this aggression upon the liberties of the Church, the Archbishop of Rouen was put into full possession of the see of Ely by the King, the Pope and Bishop Bourchier concurring in the arrangement^u. In 1439 he was created cardinal-priest by the Pope, Eugenius IV.; and in 1442 cardinal-bishop. He was hardly ever resident in his diocese, the affairs of which he regulated by his vicars-general.

Cardinal de Luxemburg died at Hatfield, Sept. 1443. His bowels were interred in the church there; his heart was deposited in his metropolitan church at Rouen; and his body at Ely, on the south side of the presbytery, "near the altar of relics," where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § XXII.)

[A.D. 1443, translated to Canterbury 1454.] THOMAS BOURCHIER, whom the monks had before elected, was now translated to Ely from Worcester. The convent, however, seems to have repented of its choice. "We only gathered from him flowers instead of fruit," says the monk who writes his life, "as from a useless tree. Except on the day of his installation he would never celebrate mass or solemn service in his cathedral^x." For his life as Archbishop, see CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II. His death occurred in 1486. His episcopate of fifty-one years, as Bishop of Worcester and Ely, and as Archbishop, was one of the longest on record in the English Church^y.

^u Dean Hook, *Archbishops*, vol. v. p. 280.

^x *Ang. Sac.* i. 671.

^y In the notice of Archbishop Bourchier (CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.) his episcopate is said to have been the longest on record in the English Church. This is an error. It was the longest up to that time; but has since been exceeded in length by those of John Hough (1690-1743), Bishop successively of Winosarely; of Oxford, Lichfield, and Worcester—35, Thomas

[A.D. 1454—1478.] WILLIAM GRAY, the King's Procurator at Rome, was appointed by Pope Nicholas V., on the recommendation of Henry VI. Bishop Gray was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, to which he was afterwards a considerable benefactor (the library was partly built by him, and furnished with books); and in 1440 he was Chancellor of the University. On his return from Rome he was made Treasurer of England. In 1467 he was Edward the Fourth's commissioner for arranging a peace between that king and Henry of Castile; and in 1471, 1472 and 1473, he was the chief English commissioner for treating of peace with James III. of Scotland. Bishop Gray died at Downham in 1478, and was interred in his cathedral, where his monument, stripped of its effigy and brasses, remains. (Pt. I. § XXII.)

The strengthening of the western tower (Pt. I. §§ IV. XXX.) was effected during the episcopate of this Bishop, who gave largely towards the work.

[A.D. 1479, translated to Canterbury 1486.] JOHN MORTON; who was made in the same year (1479) Lord Chancellor. His learning as a civilian early brought him into notice; and he was especially patronized by Archbishop Bourchier, whom he succeeded. It was this bishop who was sent to the Tower by Richard III. when Protector; and his subsequent services to Henry VII., when still Earl of Richmond, procured his nomination to the primacy. A longer notice of Archbishop Morton will be found in CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL (Pt. II.).

As Bishop of Ely, Morton attempted one of the first works on a large scale with a view to a thorough drainage

Bishop of Sodor and Man (Jan. 1698—March 1755)—57 years; of Shute Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Durham (Oct. 1769—March 1826)—56 years and 6 months; and of E. V. Vernon Harcourt, Bishop of Carlisle and Archbishop of York (November 1791—November 1847)—56 years. Bishop Wilson's is therefore the longest English episcopate.

of that part of the fens called the North Level. The canal or cut which he caused to be dug, for a distance of forty miles, from near Peterborough to the sea, by Guyhirne and Wisbech, is still called by his name, "Morton's Seam." "He had a lofty brick tower built at Guyhirne, where the waters met, and 'up into that tower he would often go to oversee and set out the works.' This Bishop was the first to introduce into the district the practice of making straight cuts and artificial rivers for the purpose of more rapidly voiding the waters of the fens—a practice which has been extensively adopted by the engineers of the present day*."

A curious account of Morton's installation as Bishop of Ely, when he walked barefoot for two miles from his palace at Downham to his cathedral, "in rochetto, cum bediis in manu sua, dicendo orationes Dominicas per viam," and of the subsequent feast at the palace, will be found in Bentham's History of Ely (Appendix, xxix. xxx).

[A.D. 1486—1500.] JOHN ALCOCK, one of the best architects of his time, and Controller of the royal works and buildings under Henry VII., was translated to Ely from Worcester. He was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. In 1462 he was appointed Master of the Rolls; and after serving on different embassies, was created Bishop of Rochester in 1472. Thence in 1746 he was translated to Worcester; and in 1486 became Bishop of Ely. By Edward IV. he had been appointed "præceptor" to the young prince, afterwards Edward V.; but was removed from his office by the Protector Richard.

At Cambridge Bishop Alcock procured the suppression of the nunnery of St. Radegund, which had become conspicuous for its irregularities; and founded in its stead the college now known as Jesus College. He built much at all his manors; and constructed a great hall and gallery

* Smiles' Lives of the Engineers, vol. i. p. 29.

(now destroyed) in his palace at Ely. His beautiful chapel has been described (Pt. I. § xxxiii.).

Bishop Alcock died at Wisbech Castle, Oct. 1, 1500.

[A.D. 1501—1505.] RICHARD REDMAN had been Abbot of Shap, in Westmoreland, and in 1471 was made Bishop of St. Asaph, where he rebuilt the cathedral, which had been burnt by Owen Glendower about 1404 (see ST. ASAPH). Bishop Redman became entangled in the affairs of Lambert Simnell in 1487; but seems to have acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Henry VII., who made him one of the commissioners of the peace with Scotland in 1492, and in 1495 translated him to Exeter; thence in 1501 he passed to Ely.

Through whatever towns Bishop Redman passed on his journeys, if he remained so long as one hour, he caused a bell to be rung that the poor might come and partake of his charity, which he distributed largely. His monument remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xx.)

[A.D. 1506—1515.] JAMES STANLEY was the third son of Thomas Stanley, created Earl of Derby in 1485. The powerful interest of his stepmother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, was probably the cause of his promotion; "the worst thing she ever did," writes Baker: "armis quam libris peritior." He died, according to Godwin, "without performing any one thing deserving to be remembered;" and it is true that his moral conduct, in Bentham's words, "will by no means bear the strictest scrutiny." He built a manor-house at Somersham, however, for the see, and did much for the collegiate church at Manchester (see MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL), where he died (March 1515) and was buried. A MS. history of the house of Derby, quoted by Bentham, thus concludes the life of Bishop Stanley:—

"Hee did end his life at merrie Manchester,
And right honourable lies buried there,

In his chappell, which he began of free stone.
 Sir John Standeley made it out, when he was gone,
 God send his soul to the heavenlie companie!
 Farewell, godlie James, Bishoppe of Ely!"

[A.D. 1515—1533.] NICHOLAS WEST, son of a baker at Putney, educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Derby 1501, Dean of Windsor 1510, early became distinguished for his knowledge of civil and canon law, and was patronized by Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. He was throughout his life much employed in public affairs and on embassies, under Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; the latter of whom he attended at the "Camp Drap d'Or." In 1515 he was made Bishop of Ely, and is said to have lived in greater splendour than any other prelate of his time, having more than one hundred servants. Two hundred poor were daily relieved at his gate. His learning and acquirements were very considerable, and are especially praised by Bishop Fisher. He was a zealous advocate on the side of Queen Catherine; and the loss of the King's favour on that account is said to have hastened his death, which occurred April 28, 1533.

At Putney, his native place, he built a chantry adjoining the parish church, which still remains. His superb chapel in the cathedral has been noticed (Pt. I. § xxiv.).

[A.D. 1534—1554.] THOMAS GOODRICH, son of Edward Goodrich, of East Kirby in Lincolnshire, was educated at Cambridge, where he soon became eminent as a canonist and civilian. In 1529 he was appointed one of the University syndics, to report concerning the lawfulness of the King's divorce, which he supported; and after more than one lesser preferment, was by the King's favour (whose chaplain he had become) advanced to the see of Ely.

Bishop Goodrich was a zealous supporter of the Reformation; and the general injunctions (1541) for the removal of images, relics, and shrines, were executed with great speed and decision in his cathedral and throughout

his diocese. The great shrines of St. Etheldreda, and of the three other sainted abbesses, were at this time removed and destroyed. In 1540 the Bishop of Ely was appointed by Convocation one of the revisers of the New Testament; and the Gospel of St. John fell to his share. In 1548 he was one of the "notable learned men" associated with Cranmer about the "Order of Communion"—the first form of the English Office in the Book of Common Prayer*. He was a member of the Privy Council under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and was employed on several embassies, and on much state business. In 1551 he was made Lord Chancellor; an office which he held until the accession of Mary in 1553, when the seals were taken from him, although he was allowed to retain his bishopric. His arms remain in the oriel of the gallery in the palace, which he largely repaired and adorned. His brass—a very interesting example of the episcopal vestments of this period—remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xxvi.)

[A.D. 1554—1570.] THOMAS THIRLBY, Archdeacon of Ely 1534, and Dean of the Chapel Royal, was appointed by Henry VIII. to the bishopric of Westminster, when, in 1540, on the dissolution of the abbey, it had been erected into an episcopal see. On the accession of Edward VI., in 1550, the new bishopric was dissolved, and Thirlby was translated to Norwich; thence he was removed to Ely, by Queen Mary, on the death of Goodrich, and was soon afterwards sent ambassador to Rome, to represent the state of the kingdom, and promise obedience to the Apostolic See. The ceremony of degrading Archbishop Cranmer was performed by Thirlby, who was observed to weep during it. "He cannot be followed," says Fuller, "as some other of his order, by the light of the faggots kindled by him to

* Procter on the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 20-23. "This was not a full Communion Office, but an addition of an English form of communion for the people to the Latin Mass."

burn poor martyrs, seeing he was given rather to prodigality than cruelty^b." But although he is said to have alienated much of the land which had been assigned to the Westminster bishopric, he did much for the see of Ely, since he procured from the Crown the advowson of eight prebends attached to it. Bishop Thirlby continued in favour for a short time after the accession of Elizabeth, but on refusing the oath of supremacy he was committed to the Tower, whence he was removed to Lambeth, where he lived for ten years under the guardianship of Archbishop Parker. He died at Lambeth in 1570, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1559—1581.] RICHARD COX, born at Whaddon, Bucks, was educated at Eton, and at Cambridge; in which University he was, according to Fuller, one of the "most hopeful plants." Wolsey removed him to his new college at Oxford; and he afterwards became Master of Eton, chaplain to the King, and tutor to the Prince, afterwards Edward VI. He received various preferments from the Crown, and was the first dean of the cathedral church of Oxford—first at Osney, and then at Christ Church; with which deanery he held that of Westminster *in commendam*. Throughout the reign of Edward, Cox was an ardent reformer, and found it necessary to take refuge at Frankfort during the Marian persecution. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and took an active part in the settlement of religion during the first years of her reign. He was a coadjutor of Archbishop Parker in the preparation of the "Bishops' Bible," and urged the adoption of "usual words" and the avoidance of "inkhorn terms." He also assisted Parker in drawing up the "Thirty-nine Articles," being regarded by him as one on whose principles and good sense he could entirely rely. In 1559, on the deprivation of Bishop Thirlby, he was consecrated to the see of Ely,

^b Worthies—Cambridgeshire.

from which, under the pressure of the Queen and courtiers, he was compelled to alienate many of the best manors. As bishop-elect, Cox, in conjunction with Parker, then archbishop elect of Canterbury, and some other bishops, petitioned the Queen that she would forbear exchanging lands for tenths and impropriate rectories, on the vacancy of the different sees, which by an act passed in her first parliament she was entitled to do. The petition was without effect, and fourteen manors belonging to the see of Ely were at this time exchanged for tenths and impropriations of much less value. The Lord Keeper Hatton subsequently procured the alienation of a portion of the Bishop's property at Holborn; and it was on making resistance to this spoliation that Cox received the celebrated letter from the Queen:—

"Proud Prelate,—You know what you were before I made you what you are; if you do not immediately comply with my request, by God I will unfrock you.—ELIZABETH."

"The names of Hatton Garden and Ely Place (*'Mantua vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ'*) still bear witness to the encroaching Lord Keeper and the elbowed Bishop*." In consequence of this and many similar vexations, the Bishop, now of great age, was desirous of resigning his see, and in February, 1580, he seems to have obtained the Queen's consent to his doing so. He died, however, July 1581, still Bishop of Ely, and was interred in his cathedral, near the tomb of Bishop Goodrich. His monument, a brass, no longer exists.

The see continued vacant for more than eighteen years after the death of Bishop Cox, during which time the Queen received the whole profits. The administration in "spirituals" was under commissioners appointed by the Archbishop. At last

* Hallam, Const. Hist., vol. i. p. 224. (ed. 1855).

[A.D. 1600—1609.] MARTIN HEATON, Canon of Christchurch, 1582, Dean of Winchester, 1589, was appointed. Like his predecessor, he was compelled to alienate much of the property of his see. His tomb, with effigy, remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xxvi.)

[A.D. 1609, translated to Winchester 1619.] LANCELOT ANDREWES. (For the life of this bishop, who whilst at Ely spent large sums in repairing the residences attached to the see, see WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1619—1626.] NICHOLAS FELTON, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1616, translated from Bristol. He was one of those employed by James I. on the translation of the Bible.

[A.D. 1628—1631.] JOHN BUCKERIDGE was appointed, after a vacancy of a year and a-half. He had been Fellow, and afterwards President, of St. John's, Oxford, where he was tutor to the future Primate, William Laud. Buckeridge "was devoted to the cause of the Reformed Church of England," and wielded with ability "the two-edged sword of Holy Scripture" against the Papists on the one side, and against the Puritans on the other. A treatise written by him, entitled "De Potestate Papæ in Temporalibus," was very highly esteemed, and was unanswered by the Romanists. He was one of four divines appointed by King James—the others being Bishops Andrewes and Barlow, and Dr. King, afterwards Bishop of London—to preach before him at Hampton Court, with the object of bringing the Presbyterian Scots to a right understanding of the Church of England^d. In 1611 he became Bishop of Rochester, whence in 1628 he was translated to Ely, through the interest of his former pupil, Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells. "In this case, and by every means in his power, Laud endeavoured to show his gratitude for the great benefit he had derived from the instruction and example of this good man, equally distinguished for his orthodoxy

^d Hook, Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. xi. p. 5.

and his learning*." His reputation for learning and as a preacher was considerable.

[A.D. 1631—1638.] FRANCIS WHITE, translated from Norwich, Dean of Carlisle 1622, Bishop of Carlisle 1626, and Bishop of Norwich 1629, translated to Ely 1631. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was regarded as "a man of learning, a good preacher, and an excellent disputant and polemical writer."

[A.D. 1638—1667.] MATTHEW WREN, eldest son of Francis Wren, citizen and mercer of London, had been chaplain to Lancelot Andrewes when Bishop of Ely, and was afterwards made chaplain to James I., by whose appointment he was sent, with Dr. Maw, to attend Prince Charles during his expedition to Spain, "with all the requirements for a comely celebration of the worship of the Church of England." He subsequently accompanied King Charles to Scotland, in 1633. Wren was an excellent hater of Puritans, an unflinching adherent of Laud, a strong supporter of the royal authority, and so highly in favour with the King, that Laud was said to be jealous of him. After many lesser preferments, he was made Bishop of Hereford in 1635; in the same year he was translated to Norwich, and in 1638 to Ely.

As Bishop of Norwich, Wren, "a man of a sour, severe, nature," according to Lord Clarendon,—a "wren mounted on the wings of an eagle," in Bishop Williams' words,—carried out the Laudian discipline with a high hand. The Puritans declared it was the greatest persecution on record. "In all Queen Mary's time," said Burton, "there was not so great a havoc made, in so short a time, of the faithful ministers of God." Eight hundred and ninety-seven questions were distributed throughout the diocese for the unfortunate churchwardens to answer; prayers before sermons were silenced; and at length Bishop Wren was able to report something like uniformity in his diocese, although

* Hook, Archbishops of Canterbury, u. s.

in the midst of deep-seated discontent. In the diocese of Ely the Bishop found less occupation: but he had discovered sundry abuses in Cambridge and the adjoining district, before, in 1641, after protesting with other bishops against their exclusion from the House of Lords, he was sent with them to the Tower. He was set at liberty for a short time in 1642, but was again arrested before the close of the year, and remained in confinement for eighteen years,—“displaying great patience, resolution, and firmness of mind.” He outlived the Rebellion, was set free in March 1660, and after the King’s return, in May of the same year, was replaced in the see of Ely. As a thank-offering he built the chapel at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he had been educated, and was interred therein in 1667. His diary, and other notices of this Bishop,—whom Hallam contemptuously dismisses as “one Wren, the worst on the bench,”—will be found in Wren’s *Parentalia*.

Ely Cathedral remained unprofaned, and the service was duly performed in it, until January 1644; when Cromwell as Governor of Ely, made, says Carlyle, “a transient appearance in the cathedral one day, memorable to the Reverend Mr. Hitch and us.” He had already written to Mr. Hitch, requiring him “to forbear altogether the choir service, so unedifying and offensive, lest the soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the cathedral church.” Mr. Hitch paid no attention, and Cromwell accordingly appeared in time of service, “with a rabble at his heels, and with his hat on,” and ordered the “assembly” to leave the cathedral. Mr. Hitch paused for a moment, but soon recommenced: when “‘Leave off your fooling, and come down, Sir,’ said Oliver, in a voice still audible to this editor; which Mr. Hitch did now instantaneously give ear to.”

[A.D. 1667—1675.] BENJAMIN LANEY, Master of Pembroke

* Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 145, 146 (ed. 1857).

College, Cambridge, 1630, Prebendary of Winchester 1631, Prebendary of Westminster 1639, lost all his preferments, and was ejected from his Mastership, 1644, for refusing the Covenant. He was one of Charles the First's chaplains, and attended him at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and afterwards shared the exile of Charles II., by whom on the restoration he was made Bishop of Peterborough: thence translated to Lincoln in 1663, and thence to Ely in 1667. He rebuilt part of the episcopal palace, and was interred in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXI.)

[A.D. 1675—1684.] PETER GUNNING, a preacher of considerable celebrity, and a vigorous defender of the principles of the Church of England during Cromwell's Protectorate, was born at Hoo in Kent, and educated at the King's School, Canterbury. After the Restoration he was appointed to the Mastership of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and to the Margaret Professorship, from which he was transferred to the Mastership of St. John's, and the Regius Professorship of Divinity. In 1670 he became Bishop of Chichester, and was thence translated to Ely. His monument, with effigy, has been noticed (Pt. I. § XXVI.).

[A.D. 1684, deprived 1691.] FRANCIS TURNER, son of the Dean of Canterbury, was educated at Winchester (where his name remains on the wall of the cloisters, near that of his friend Ken), and at New College, Oxford. In 1670 he became Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; in 1683 Dean of Windsor; in the same year Bishop of Rochester; and in 1684 was translated to Ely. He was one of the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower, and was deprived, as a Nonjuror, in 1691. The rest of his life was passed in complete retirement. He died in 1700, at Thetford, in Hertfordshire, where he had been Rector, and was buried in the chancel there, which he had "decorated," repaved, and wainscoted, at his own expense. His only memorial is the word *Expergiscar* on the stone which

covers his vault. He had erected a monument to his wife in the same church.

Bishop Turner is best remembered for his intimate friendship with the excellent Bishop Ken, who was associated with him in the principal events of his life. Both bishops were present at the death-bed of Charles II.

[A.D. 1691—1707.] SIMON PATRICK was perhaps the most distinguished bishop who has filled the see of Ely since the Reformation. He was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, in 1626, and was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge. In 1662 he became Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, "where by his excellent instructions and example he gained the entire love and esteem of his parishioners, and more especially by continuing with them all the time of the great plague in 1665." Charles II., to whom he was chaplain, made him Dean of Peterborough in 1672. Under James II. he was an active defender of the Church of England, and in 1686 Patrick and Dr. Jane had a conference with two Roman priests, in the presence of the King and of the Earl of Rochester, whom James was desirous of converting to Romanism. On this occasion the King declared that "he never heard a bad cause so well, or a good one so ill, maintained." Soon after the Revolution (Oct. 1689), Patrick, who had been much employed in settling the affairs of the Church, was promoted to the see of Chichester, vacant by the death of Bishop Lake; and in July 1691, on Bishop Turner's refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, he was translated to Ely. Bishop Patrick died in the palace there in May 1707, and was interred in the cathedral, where his monument remains. (Pt. I. § XXI.)

Simon Patrick is highly praised by Bishop Burnet, and his learning and unblemished character have been duly appreciated by writers of all parties. His "Paraphrases and Commentaries on the Scriptures" are of great value, and his sermons and lesser tracts, many of which have

lately been reprinted, take good rank among the works of English Churchmen of that period. Whilst Dean of Peterborough he completed and published a History of that Church, which had been compiled by Simon Gunton, a prebendary of Peterborough.

- [A.D. 1707—1714.] JOHN MOORE, Fellow of Clare Hall, and Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, who became Bishop of Norwich in 1691, on the deprivation of Bishop Lloyd, was on the death of Patrick translated to Ely. An important collection of books and MSS., made by him, was after his death bought by George I., and given to the University of Cambridge.
- [A.D. 1714—1723.] WILLIAM FLEETWOOD was translated from St. Asaph, to which see he was consecrated in 1708. In 1712 Bishop Fleetwood published four sermons, with a preface, in which he strongly defended the principles of the Revolution, endangered, as was then generally believed, by the Jacobite intrigues of the Ministers. The book was ordered to be burnt by a ministerial majority of the Commons, but its author was rewarded on the accession of George I. by his translation to Ely.
- [A.D. 1723—1738.] THOMAS GREENE, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, was translated to Ely from Norwich.
- [A.D. 1738—1748.] ROBERT BUTTS, also translated from Norwich, was a descendant of Sir William Butts, physician to Henry VIII.
- [A.D. 1748—1754.] SIR THOMAS GOOCH, Bart., Archdeacon of Essex, and Master of Caius College, Cambridge, 1716, became Bishop of Bristol in 1737, whence he was translated to Norwich in 1738, and thence to Ely in 1748.
- [A.D. 1754—1770.] MATTHIAS MAWSON, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1724, Bishop successively of Llandaff (1730) and Chichester (1740), whence he was translated to Ely.
- [A.D. 1771—1781.] EDMUND KEENE, translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1781—1808.] JAMES YORKE, Bishop successively of St. David's and Gloucester.

[A.D. 1808—1812.] THOMAS DAMPIER, translated from Rochester.

[A.D. 1812—1836.] BOWYER EDWARD SPARKE, translated from Chester.

[A.D. 1836—1845.] JOSEPH ALLEN, translated from Bristol.

[A.D. 1845—1864.] THOMAS TURTON, Fellow of Catherine Hall, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, 1827—1843, Dean of Peterborough 1830—1842, Dean of Westminster 1843—1845.

[A.D. 1864—1873.] EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, translated to Winchester, Fellow of Emmanuel, Vice Principal of Lampeter 1843, Canon Residentiary of Exeter 1857, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, 1854—1864.

[A.D. 1873.] JAMES RUSSELL WOODFORD.

FRONTISPIECE.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



THE CLOISTERS, WITH FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE.

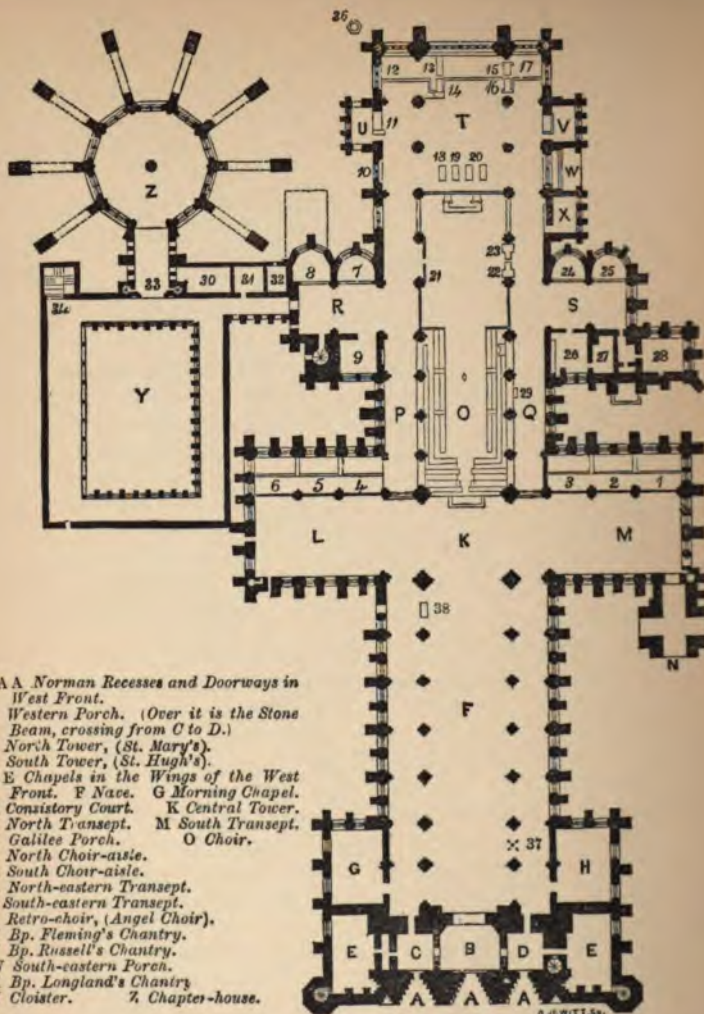
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LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

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AAA Norman Recesses and Doorways in West Front.

B Western Porch. (Over it is the Stone Beam, crossing from C to D.)

C North Tower, (St. Mary's).

D South Tower, (St. Hugh's).

E E Chapels in the Wings of the West Front. F Nave. G Morning Chapel.

H Consistory Court. K Central Tower.

L North Transept. M South Transept.

N Galilee Porch. O Choir.

P North Choir-aisle.

Q South Choir-aisle.

R North-eastern Transept.

S South-eastern Transept.

T Retro-choir, (Angel Choir).

U Bp. Fleming's Chantry.

V Bp. Russell's Chantry.

W South-eastern Porch.

X Bp. Longland's Chantry.

Y Cloister. Z Chapter-house.

1 Chapel of St. Thomas.

2 Chapel of St. John the Evang.

3 St. Anne's Chapel, re-dedicated to St. Edward.

4 Chapel of St. James.

5 Chapel of St. Denis.

6 Chapel of St. Nicholas.

7 Chapel of St. Hugh.

8 Chapel of St. John Baptist.

9 Dean's Chapel.

10 North-east Entrance.

11 Bishop Fleming's Monument.

12 Monum. of Lord Burghersh.

13 Monum. of Rob. de Burghersh.

14 Monument of Bp. Burghersh.

15 Monument of Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe.

16 Monument of Prior Wimbi-

bihe.

17 Cantilupe Chantry.

18 Memorial of St. Hugh.

19 Tomb of Bp. Fuller.

20 Gardiner Monuments.

21 Easter Sepulchre.

22 Monument of the Duchess of Lancaster.

23 Monument of the Countess

of Westmoreland.

24 Chapel of St. Paul.

25 Chapel of St. Peter.

26, 27 Ancient Choristers' Vestry.

28 Principal Vestry.

29 Shrine of Little St. Hugh.

30, 31, 32 Anciently one room,

the "Camera Communis."

33 Vestibule to Chapter-house.

24 Staircase to Library.

36 Well. 37 Font.

38 Remigius' Tomb.

GROUND-PLAN, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. The see of Dorchester (see Pt. II.) was removed to Lincoln by REMIGIUS OF FESCAMP, the first bishop after the Conquest, about the year 1075. Remigius at once commenced the erection of a cathedral, which was sufficiently far advanced in 1092 to admit of its consecration. Four days before that chosen for the purpose, however, Bishop Remigius died, and the church was consecrated during the episcopate of his successor, ROBERT BLOET (1094—1123). In the year 1141 a great fire occurred, after which Bishop ALEXANDER (1123—1148) replaced the wooden roof of the nave with a vault of stone. In 1185 this Norman cathedral, according to Roger of Hoveden, was “cleft from top to bottom by an earthquake.” Its rebuilding was commenced by Bishop HUGH OF GRENOBLE (1186—1200), better known as “St. Hugh of Lincoln.” The existing *choir*, the *eastern transept*, the first bay of the eastern side of the *great transept*, north and south, are unquestionably the work of St. Hugh. The *Chapter-house* has also been attributed to him, in conse-

quence of a misprint in Wharton's "*Anglia Sacra*," but this building is certainly of a later date. The completion of the *great transept*, may perhaps be assigned to the episcopate of this successor, WILLIAM OF BLOIS (1203—1209). The *nave* was carried on during the time of Bishop HUGH of Wells, 1209—1235, and completed in the episcopate of Bishop ROBERT GROSTÈTE (1235—1253). To Grostète may be attributed the Early English portion of the *west front*, and the two lower stories of the *central tower*. It should be remarked, however, that the distribution of these several portions is somewhat arbitrary. All that is certainly known is that the cathedral was not finished by St. Hugh; since in 1205 a royal letter was issued, appealing to the faithful throughout the diocese for funds towards the completion of so noble a work ("tam nobile opus." In the same letter it is called "*egregia structura*"). The character of the work itself, however, proves that it must have been continued until its completion with but little interruption. The plans of the architect employed by St. Hugh named Geoffry de Noiers^b,

* The letter will be found at length in the Rev. J. Hunter's volume of Chapter-house documents—(*Rotuli selecti ex Capit. Domo, &c.*).

^b Of what country Geoffry de Noiers was a native remains uncertain. A long discussion on the subject will be found in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," from Feb. to June, 1861. No less than thirteen places called Noiers have been pointed out in different parts of France. Mr. Dimmock, however (*Gent. Mag.*, June 1861), proves that "*de Noiers*" was an hereditary English name (with a Northamptonshire family) in St. Hugh's time.

were in the main carried out during the succeeding episcopates*.

The *presbytery*, or 'Angel choir,' begun in 1255, when the city wall was removed by royal licence for the lengthening of the choir, was completed before the year 1280, when the shrine of St. Hugh was removed into it. The *cloisters* were the work of Bishop SUTTON (1280—1300), and the upper part of the *central tower* of Bishop JOHN OF DALDERBY (1300—1320). The south end of the great transept, with its circular window, probably dates from the episcopate of HENRY OF BURGHERSH (1320—1340); and the upper part of the western towers is Perpendicular work of about 1400.

II. By far the greater part of Lincoln Cathedral is accordingly of Early English date: and although Salisbury (begun 1220, completed 1258) and Westminster (begun 1245, completed 1269) are in some respects grander and more complete examples, Lincoln has an especial interest from the fact of its having been commenced so long before either. Although it has been frequently asserted that the architecture of this cathedral displays French influence, M. Viollet-le-Duc, whose authority on this point scarcely admits of dis-

Hence the architect of Lincoln *may* have been a born and thoroughbred Englishman.

* The Metrical Life of St. Hugh, written during the lifetime of his successor, Bishop Hugh of Wells (and admirably edited by the Rev. J. F. Dimock, Lincoln, 1860), contains a very curious and interesting description of St. Hugh's cathedral. It will be found printed at length in the APPENDIX, Part III.

pute, has declared that, after the most careful examination, he could not find "in any part of the cathedral of Lincoln, either in the general design, or in any part of the system of architecture adopted, or in the details of ornament, any trace of the French school of the twelfth century (the lay school from 1170 to 1220), so plainly characteristic of the cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Senlis, Chartres, Sens, and even Rouen^d." This fact, which greatly increases the probability that the architect Geoffrey de Noiers was an Englishman, gives us good reason to claim for St. Hugh the distinction of having been "the first effectual promoter, if not the actual inventor, of our national and most excellent Early English style of architecture^e;" and in point of interest, renders it difficult for any other church to exceed Lincoln Cathedral. In size and importance it may be regarded as the third great church of the Early English period in England, the whole of the interior, except the presbytery, being of this age; "and this part follows so immediately after the rest as not to produce any want of harmony, but merely a degree of enrichment suitable to the increased sanctity of the altar, and the localities surrounding it^f."

In grandeur of situation, Lincoln has no rival among English cathedrals. It rises on its "sovereign hill," a conspicuous landmark from every part of the sur-

^d M. Viollet-le-Duc's letter appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May 1861. It is, however, so interesting and important that it will be found nearly at length in the APPENDIX, Part III.

^e J. F. Dimock.

^f Fergusson.

rounding country [see *Frontispiece*]; and its towers are in full view as the traveller ascends the steep "New Road" towards the Close. On passing under the archway of the gatehouse known as "Pottergate," the east end of the building, and the Chapter-house with its flying buttresses, first appear. The road then proceeds close under the south side of the cathedral, the lines of which are varied by projecting chapels and porches to an unusual extent. An entire new church seems to open after passing the Galilee porch, and finally the west front appears, with the towers rising behind it. No other cathedral is richer or more varied in its outlines, and few can be exceeded in the interests of its details. This unrivalled effect results entirely from the grandeur of the building itself, and from that of its situation. The eastern end rises above a level plot of greensward, but the grey stone of the building is not relieved by trees or gardens, and the houses which line the Close are scarcely picturesque.

The cathedral is built throughout of stone from the oolite beds in the immediate neighbourhood, which, although it blackens on exposure to the air, is almost indestructible, and completely retains the sharpness of its sculpture. The marks of the toothed chisels, with which it was worked, are visible on many parts of the interior. The Purbeck marble, used for shafts and capitals, is by no means so durable, and much of it has completely decayed.

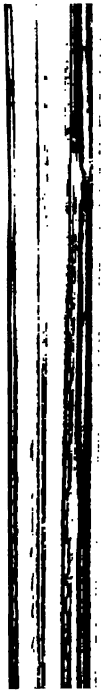
The most direct way of approaching the Cathedral from the city below, is by the High Street, which

climbs the hill in a straight line, following the old Ermine Street. The Close or Minster Yard is entered by the *Exchequer Gate*, a lofty Edwardian gatehouse of three stories, forming part of the fortifications of the close erected by royal licence in 1319. Both the centre and side archways are groined in brick. The corbel-heads deserve notice. The east front is broken by octagonal staircase turrets. A second gatehouse of equal dimensions stood a few yards further to the west, but was pulled down in 1816.

III. On passing under the archway of the gate we have immediately before us the *west front* [Plate I.], which, notwithstanding its flatness, its want of windows, and its striking mixture of styles, is grand and impressive, and deservedly ranks high among the façades of English cathedrals. Its effect is no doubt greatly increased by the western towers, which rise immediately behind it; but it well deserves examination for its own sake, and for the interest of its details. The distinction between the earlier and later Norman and Early English work is at once evident. The central portion, containing the five archways, belonged to the Norman cathedral of Remigius, of which it presents the only external trace remaining. The intersecting arcade above the two principal circular arches, like the doorways within the recesses, belongs to the later Norman of Bishop ALEXANDER. The rest of the front itself is entirely Early English, and was probably the work of Bishop GROSTÈTE (1235—1253). The windows above the three principal doorways are very



THE WEST FRONT.



early Perpendicular, and were probably inserted by Treasurer JOHN OF WELBOURNE, circ. 1370.

The Norman portion of the front consists of three lofty recesses, of which that in the centre is the highest and widest.

At the foot of each of these recesses is a round-headed doorway, and beyond the side recesses are two lower arches enshrining niches semicircular in plan. The masonry and capitals of these recesses deserve especial notice. The capitals are thoroughly characteristic of early Norman work; and the masonry is one of the best examples of



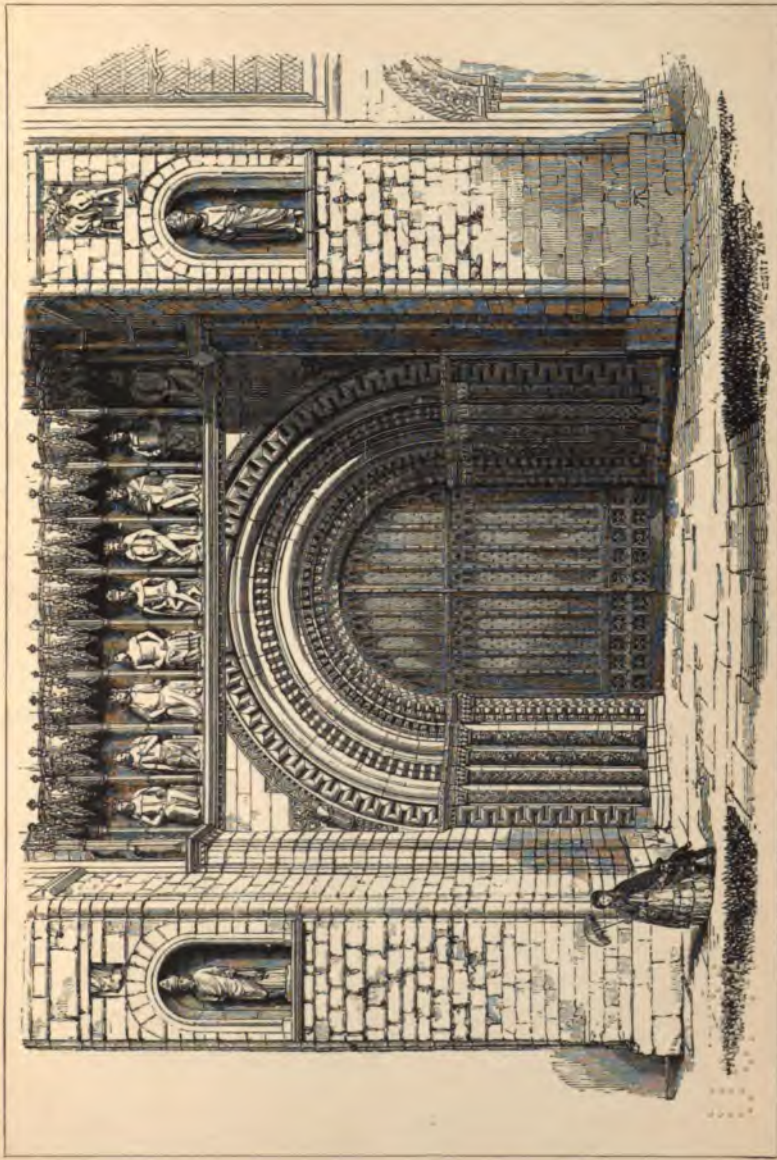
Arched Recess.

"wide jointed." The three principal recesses were originally terminated by gables, similar to those still existing on the north and south flanks. The weather-mouldings of the gables of the two side recesses may be seen within, behind the Early English wall. The whole arrangement resembled, on a smaller scale and in an earlier style, that of the west front of Peterborough. On the incorporation of this Norman front

with the Early English work, the gables were removed, the central recess was heightened, and the circular arch was changed to pointed. The spring of the Norman arch is evident, immediately below the "trellis" work (usually ascribed to Grostête) which lines the wall. Its original height was 75 ft. The present Early English arch rises to more than 80 ft.

The three *doorways*, within the recesses, were probably inserted by Bishop ALEXANDER (1123—1148). They are late Norman in character, and a careful examination of the masonry will shew that the walls in which they are set are of earlier date. The central doorway [Plate II.] is the earliest and by far the richest, and though it has unhappily been subjected to restoration, and some parts are modern, its ornaments and mouldings deserve notice. On the shafts are grotesque figures, arranged in pairs and entangled in rings of leafage, one of which is attacked by serpents; another bites his thumb: birds and animals, the dove, the lion, the lamb, &c., placed back to back, fill the interspaces in other shafts. The Corinthianesque capitals of the southern jamb of the north door also merit attention. They are scarcely to be equalled for freedom and elegance by any in England. These three entrances may be compared with those at Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire. These are much ruder, and probably earlier than the Lincoln doorways, but the general character of ornament is the same.

Above the two exterior recesses, and stretching at intervals across the Norman portion of the front, is



THE GREAT WEST DOOR.



a band of remarkable sculptures which must have been removed from some earlier building and applied to the decoration of his new front by Remigius. Beginning at the left hand, north, we have above the smaller side recess—(1) The torments of the Lost; (2) Our Lord's descent into the jaws of Hades. Within the recess (left) (3) Six full-length figures of Saints in converse; (4) Our Lord surrounded by the Evangelistic symbols, bearing a sheet containing souls; (right) (5) The Supper at Emmaus; (6) a double subject (above) Angels receiving the soul of a dying Man; (7) (below) A Fiend casting lost Souls into the mouth of the Abyss; (within the central recess, right) (8) The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. (Between the central and southern recess) (9) Man condemned to Labour. (Within the southern recess, left); doubtful, perhaps the Consequences of the Curse of the Fall; (10) Childbirth (?); (11) A Woman spinning (?) or Samuel and Eli (?); (right) Our Lord instructing a Disciple. Above the smaller recess (11) Noah and his Son building the Ark; (12) Daniel in the Lions' Den; (13) Noah and his Family in the Ark; the animals below; (14) The going out of the Ark; (15) God's communing with Noah, or His Covenant with Abraham. (Within the ringers' chapel, on the old outside south wall) (16) The Deluge.

The three large windows in the recesses are later insertions. The great west window is attributed, by Leland, but erroneously, to Bishop WILLIAM ALNWICK (1436—1450), who commenced the rebuilding of the

west front of Norwich, and whose executors erected the great west window of that cathedral. (See NORWICH.) The two side windows are of the same style and date. All are certainly considerably earlier than Alnwick, and are probably to be assigned to Treasurer Welbourne. The cinquefoiled opening at the head of the central recess is Early English, like the arch in which it is set. Over the central doorway are the figures of eleven kings, under enriched canopies, "placed there under the active, but tasteless, superintendence of the Treasurer, John of Welbourn, about 1370. The costume and details may possibly contain some archæological interest, but so wretched are the design and workmanship of these carvings, that they furnish matter of painful edification in tracing the rapid decline which may be effected upon the sensitive existence of fine art during one century only."—*C. R. Cockerell*. These indifferent sculptures are not to be compared with the admirable figures of the Angel choir (§ xiv.), which are just one century earlier. The figures in the round-headed niches on either side of the central recess were placed there in one of the repairs of the last century. Clumsy modern mitres have converted them into bishops.

IV. Beyond and above the Norman work the whole of the front is Early English, and was probably completed by Bishop GROSTÈTE (1235—1253). The breadth of the Norman portion (100 feet) is that of the nave. The Early English wings have at their angles octagonal turrets, capped with spires, and a gable, much

enriched, rises in the centre of the front, immediately above the principal recess. The flanking turrets project unusually, and cast deep shadows. The front is covered with a series of arcades and ornaments, and was once crowded with figures, brackets for supporting which still remain. The bosses sculptured with human heads in the upper stringcourses, and at the intersection of the arcades, are admirable, and deserve careful notice. The central gable, however, and the upper part of the arch beneath, are the best and richest portions of the front. The arrangements and minute details of the gable, with the small statues which remain in its niches, are excellent examples of the purest Early English. The raised "trellis-work" of the masonry, which occurs also on the interior and exterior of the central tower, should be noticed: it is the general characteristic of Grostête's work. The cinquefoiled window in the head of the arch was regarded by Rickman as "nearly unique, from the exquisite workmanship of its mouldings, which consist of openwork bands of flowers." The foliage in the cusps is especially admirable. On the central boss of the vaulting in the recess is carved the Expulsion from Paradise.

The parapet, which extends on either side between the gable and the turrets, is an addition of the fourteenth century. The spires which cap the turrets are crowned by statues; of which that south represents St. Hugh, that north is known as the "Swineherd of Stow," a *porcarius* who, according to the local legend, gave a peck of silver pennies toward the building of the

cathedral. The swineherd is in the act of blowing a horn, and the figure has sometimes been regarded as the rebus of Bishop Bloet (Blow it),—a pun which, although perfectly in accordance with the taste of the fifteenth century, hardly agrees with that of the thirteenth. The existing figure dates only from 1850; but is a fac-simile of the original "Swineherd," preserved in the cloisters (see § xxv., and *Title-page*).

The entire breadth of the west front is 173 ft.; its height (below the gable) 83 ft.

V. The *western porch*, which we now enter, and the porches on either side, beneath the towers, were much altered by Treasurer WELBOURNE *circa* 1370, and their vaulting is of his time, as is the panelling and arcade which line the walls. The modern arches, which encumber and destroy the effect of these porches, were added about 1727, in order to provide additional support for the west towers, the Norman bases of which have been seriously crushed by the lofty belfries added in the fifteenth century, which have also forced out the whole west front. It has been recently found necessary to take down and rebuild a considerable portion of the south-west or St. Hugh's Tower, with its newel staircase, and to tie the façade to the fabric behind with iron bars, which it is hoped will have arrested all further mischief. On the north side of the central porch is a tablet for the officers and men of the 10th (or North Lincolnshire) Regiment who fell in the campaign of 1845-6 on the Sutlej, and in that of 1848-9 in the

Punjab; below which another tablet commemorates those of the same regiment who lost their lives in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58; and to the south, erected in 1775, is a tablet for Bishop WILLIAM SMITH (1496—1514), the founder of Brasenose College, Oxford, who was buried at the entrance of the nave, and whose brass, as the present inscription records, was destroyed by the "*Cromwellii flagitiosus grex*." This vestibule is divided from the nave by a light Gothic arch, erected by Essex towards the latter part of the last century; on either side, north and south, may be seen one of the Norman clerestory windows of the earlier church, with Grostête's lattice-work filling the wall above.

On either side of the north and south porches are chapels, forming the wings of the west front, and projecting beyond the aisles. That to the north is approached through a dark narrow passage, above which is a chamber inaccessible except by a ladder, which has been regarded as a prison, but was more probably a strong-room for the treasures of the church in times of war or civil troubles. In the north-west angle of the chapel beyond it (lighted by a circular window seen in the west front) is a recess, resembling one of those in the Norman front, of which this wall formed the north return. Both the chapels have an entrance doorway to the west, which, after having been built up almost from their erection, have not long since been opened. The chapel beyond the south tower is known as St. Hugh's. The walls (which retain some original thirteenth-century border-painting) are in-

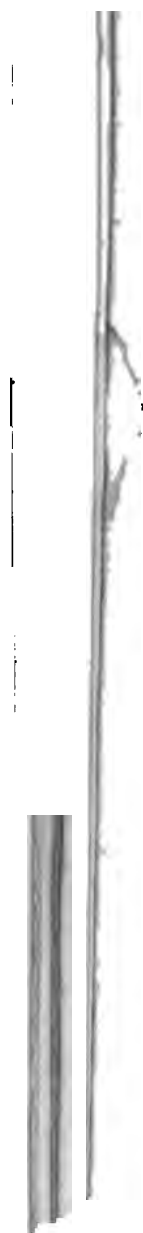
scribed with the "names of the Company of Ringers of our blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln;" the earliest dating from 1614. Both chapels have wall-arcades, and both have Early English groined vaults.

VI. Leaving for the present the ascent of the western towers, which is made from these chapels (see § XXIX.), we enter the *nave*. [Plate III.] The first impression here, on a visitor fresh from Ely or Peterborough, is perhaps slightly disappointing. Lincoln wants the colossal strength of those great naves; and the wide spacing of the piers, with their apparent want of solidity, allowing the eye to embrace almost the whole area at once, lessens the overpowering effect of the nave, though very far from rendering it, as Mr. Fergusson has styled it, "almost a failure." It is much to be regretted that the Purbeck marble shafts being covered with yellow wash, the interior has lost one of its distinctive features. The coldness of the vaulted roof, which is white, without colour or gilding on the bosses, and the position of the organ, which intercepts the view eastward, otherwise a very fine one, also assist in lessening the general effect. The wonderful improvement exhibited in the north transept, where the marble has been made good, and the colouring and gilding of the roof restored, and in the Angel choir, where the Purbeck marble shafts have been refreshed, increases the desire for the extension of the same measures to the rest of the edifice.

A remarkable irregularity of plan is seen at the west end of the nave, and should here be noticed. "The



THE NAVE, FROM THE WEST END



1000

1000

axis of the choir is continued in a straight line nearly to the end of the nave, and then breaks off suddenly to the north, and falls into the axis of the Norman west front." Mr. Penrose, who has pointed out this peculiarity, suggests as an explanation, that the architect who built the *choir* intended to have given the axis of the nave an obliquity with respect to that of the choir, such as is found in many English and foreign cathedrals, (Peterborough and Norwich for example), "otherwise there was no occasion for him to have built that part of the church out of parallel with the axis of the Norman work." The builders of the *nave*, however, no doubt intending to clear away all the Norman work, and to build an entirely new west front, carried out the axis of the new work in a continuous straight line. "Reckoning from the central tower, five of the seven architectural bays of the nave are about 26 by 6 ft. in extent from east to west; the sixth and seventh are 21 by 3 ft. We may suppose that at the time the building arrived at the sixth arch, economical reasons suggested the incorporation of the Norman work in the clumsy way in which we see it; and the contraction of the span of the last two arches, and a sudden lowering of the vault by about 2 ft. (over the sixth arch from the east), are the signs of the sacrifice of architectural propriety at which this saving was effected. Had seven bays been carried out, of the same breadth as the first five, and with a deep porch, perhaps similar to that of Peterborough externally, the whole of the consecrated area [that of the Norman church] might have been

covered by a uniform structure of simple proportions. We, indeed, may be thankful for the archaeological interest which this circumstance has preserved to us in the remains of Bishop Remigius's west front, and admire in the exterior the skill and beauty with which the Early English front is composed around the Norman nucleus; it nevertheless cannot be denied that the interior suffers greatly from this irregularity, which, it may be safely affirmed, formed no part of the original intention of the architect*.

The details of the nave and its aisles, however, are of the utmost beauty, as would be at once evident if the wash were removed with which they are at present covered. The entire nave is generally assigned to the episcopate of Bishop HUGH OF WELLS (1209—1235), and is throughout, of course, Early English. It consists of seven bays, from the west towers to the transepts; the slender piers are set at unusual distances, and give an impression of greater space than that which is afforded by the actual width of the nave, (42 ft.) which, however, exceeds that of the naves of Ely (30 ft.) or Peterborough (35 ft.). The details of the piers vary: some exhibit eight ringed Purbeck marble detached shafts, set round a central core of Lincoln stone, while others are solid clusters. Of the former plan there are three on the north side and four on the south. The piers on the opposite sides of the

* F. C. Penrose, *An Inquiry into the system of Proportions which prevail in the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral.* (Lincoln Vol. of the Archaeological Institute.)

nave only partially correspond. The bases on the north are somewhat higher from the pavement than on the south. The capitals on the south side also differ from those north, and are perhaps somewhat earlier. The leafage of all deserves careful examination. Over all the arches are hood-mouldings, springing from small heads.

The *triforium* is arranged in groups of three arches, circumscribed by a larger one (two groups in each bay), with foiled openings in the tympana, and a trefoil in the spandril between the two circumscribing arches. The two westernmost bays being narrower, there are only two instead of three sub-arches under each circumscribing arch. The *clerestory*—in the upper mouldings of which the dog-tooth ornament appears—is in groups of three arches. The capitals of the triforium and clerestory are the same on both sides of the nave. Slender triple vaulting-shafts rise from corbels of foliage at the spring of the lower arches; and the vault itself spreads in groups of seven ribs, with bosses of foliage at the intersections with the central rib. The names of different persons who were concerned in the building or decoration of this part of the church were formerly to be seen, painted on the vaulting. These have all been concealed by the whitewash, with the exception of the name of "Wilhelmus Paris," which is still visible in the centre of the nave, not far from the great tower^b.

^b The other names were Helias Pictor, Walterus Brand, Wilhelmus Baldwin, Ricardus de Ponte, and Robertus Saris.

VII. The *aisles* of the nave vary in detail, although there is probably little difference in their dates. The quinquipartite vaulting of both springs from wall-shafts set between the windows, alternately single and in groups of five, with vertical bands of dog-tooth running up between the shafts. The wall of the *north aisle* is lined by a continuous arcade of trefoiled arches, set on shafts, detached from the wall, in groups of three. There are four arches in each bay, and every fifth arch is intersected by the vaulting-shaft, detached, and raised on a base projecting beyond the bench of the arcade. In each bay are two lancet-lights, and the detached vaulting-shaft between them reaches to the stringcourse above the arcade. If the whole of these shafts were properly cleaned, the effect would be exquisitely light and graceful. There are probably few more interesting examples of an Early English wall-arcade.

In the *south aisle* the wall-arcade is not continuous. There are five arches in each bay; and the vaulting-shafts, none of which are detached, are set against the wall between them. The abacus of the capitals is continued along the wall as a horizontal stringcourse. The dog-tooth occurs in the mouldings of the arcade (which is not the case in the *north aisle*); there are bosses of foliage at the spring of the arches; and the corbels at the bases of the shafts between the windows and the capitals of the shafts are all carved with foliage, while many of

those opposite are quite plain. It is scarcely possible to say which aisle is the earlier, although the north partakes more of the character of St. Hugh's work in the choir-aisles. Beneath the second arch on the south stands a vast square Norman *font*, of black basalt, which, after having been long placed in the Morning Chapel, has been brought back to its former position and used for its original purpose. The bowl is raised on a central pillar, with four shafts at the angles. Winged lions and monsters are sculptured on the sides, and a broad leaf-ornament in the four upper corners. This font should be compared with those at Winchester and St. Michael's, Southampton.

All the windows in the north aisle, and in the south, are filled with memorial stained glass. Those in the north are entirely by Messrs. WARD and HUGHES. Those to the south are by different glass-stainers, and, with the exception of the first four to the west, which are by the Revs. A. and F. SUTTON, cannot be considered good. The high tombs and brasses in this part of the church were destroyed by the "*Cromwellii flagitiosus grex*" during the Civil War. Close within the great western door were those of Bishop GYNWELL (died 1363), Bishop ARWATER (died 1521), Bishop ALNWICK (died 1450), and Bishop SMITH (died 1514). The society of Brasenose College placed a tablet to the memory of their founder (Bishop Smith) on the wall of the west porch in 1775. Beneath the last arch on the north side of

the nave was placed in 1872 a curiously carved coffin-lid, identified by the Rev. G. Ayliffe Poole with that of Remigius, removed to the cloisters with the other monumental slabs, in the repaving of the nave in 1782. It is carved with a kind of genealogical tree of Christ, forming three vesicas, containing David, the Virgin Mary and Our Lord, with Adam and Eve standing at the foot, and Moses and Elias and other subsidiary figures at the sides. It bears an inscription by Bishop Wordsworth.

VIII. Opening into the aisles of the nave, at its western extremity, are two Early English chapels of somewhat later character than the nave itself. The walls of each are lined with arcades of pointed arches. They are divided from the aisles by low walls, ornamented with an arcade of trefoil-headed arches rising from triple shafts, slightly varied on the two sides. That to the north is pierced with two Decorated quatrefoiled circles, commanding a view of the altar. The southern wall has two low-arched openings, protected by shutters. The chapel to the *south* is said to have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and now serves as the Consistory court. The vaulting is sexpartite, without a central column. On the south wall there is a double piscina, the circular basins of which have stone lids. The *north*, or *morning chapel* (used for early Morning Prayer), has four bays of quadripartite vaulting, supported by a central group of eight keel-shaped Purbeck marble shafts, bound with

pointed fillets and deserving special attention for their grace and beauty, which have recently been polished. In the east wall is a double piscina, the shafts of which have square abaci, the only example in this cathedral. The altar-pace is elevated two steps. A corbel-head in either wall marks the position of a rood-beam.

IX. The *central*, or *rood-tower*,—now, from a corruption of the latter word known as the *Broad tower*,—is partly open as a lantern, and is supported by four enormously massive piers, composed of twenty-four alternate shafts of Lincoln and Purbeck stone, with rich capitals of Early English leafage. Four lofty arches, with the dog-tooth ornament in their mouldings, rise above these piers; their spandrels are hatched with trellis-work. Above is an arcade of six arches on either side, arranged in groups of three; vaulting-shafts, springing from enriched corbels, divide each group. A second arcade, of eight arches on either side, arranged in groups of four, and having two arches on either side pierced for windows, rises above. The vaulting of the roof is of later date than the rest of the work, having been erected by Treasurer Welbourn, *circa* 1375. The first story (above the roof) is attributed to Bishop Grostête, (1235—1253). The piers may perhaps belong to the work either of St. Hugh or of Bishop Hugh of Wells, although they must have been greatly strengthened and enlarged by Grostête. The upper part of the tower was added by Bishop DALDERBY (1300—1320),

who, about the year 1306, issued an indulgence of forty days to all who assisted in its completion. The first Early English tower fell about the year 1240—"propter artificii insolentiam"¹—after which the rebuilding was commenced by Bishop Grostête. According to Matthew Paris, the fall occurred during a sermon preached by one of the canons in denunciation of this famous bishop, who was at variance with his Chapter. "If we should hold our peace," exclaimed the canon, "the very stones would cry out"—"etsi nos taceamus, lapides reclamabunt;" at which words the stonework of the tower fell.

The view westward from beneath the central tower is a very striking one, owing to the depth of the western porch, in which the great window is set. This window is filled with modern glass, the work and gift, like so much of that which now decorates the cathedral, of the Revs. A. and F. Sutton. Some ancient glass, of a silvery hue, remains at the apex of the window. The spandrils of the arch, as well as the splays of the window itself, are covered with a trellised ornament. Above is the rose-window, with a small arcade at its sides. The very graceful form of this opening is well seen from this point; and its effect is much aided by the stained glass—a figure of Bishop Remigius—placed in it by Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt.

¹ Bened. Abbas, who says the tower fell in 1237. 1240 is the date given by Matthew Paris.

X. The *great transept*, opening north and south from the central tower, was commenced by St. Hugh, who, however, only laid the foundations, and completed the first bay on either side. The details of these portions resemble those of the choir; and a comparison with the nave will at once shew the difference. Both transepts have eastern aisles; and the arrangement of the piers, triforium, and clerestory is much the same as that of the choir. The difference of the treatment of the bay next the tower on either side will be noticed. The design corresponds to that of the first bays of the choir, which, like these, were re-constructed after the fall of the tower in 1237. The west side of both transepts has five lancets, corresponding to those of the aisles of the nave, and a pointed wall-arcade below. The triforium space is occupied by a continuous arcade pierced for windows. Each bay of the clerestory has two lancets. The vaulting is sexpartite. The vaulting-shafts run up alternately from the ground and from the string-course below the triforium. The north transept has been well and carefully restored by Mr. Pearson. The yellow wash has been removed, the marble shafts restored, the bosses of the vaults gilt, and its decorative colour reproduced with excellent effect.

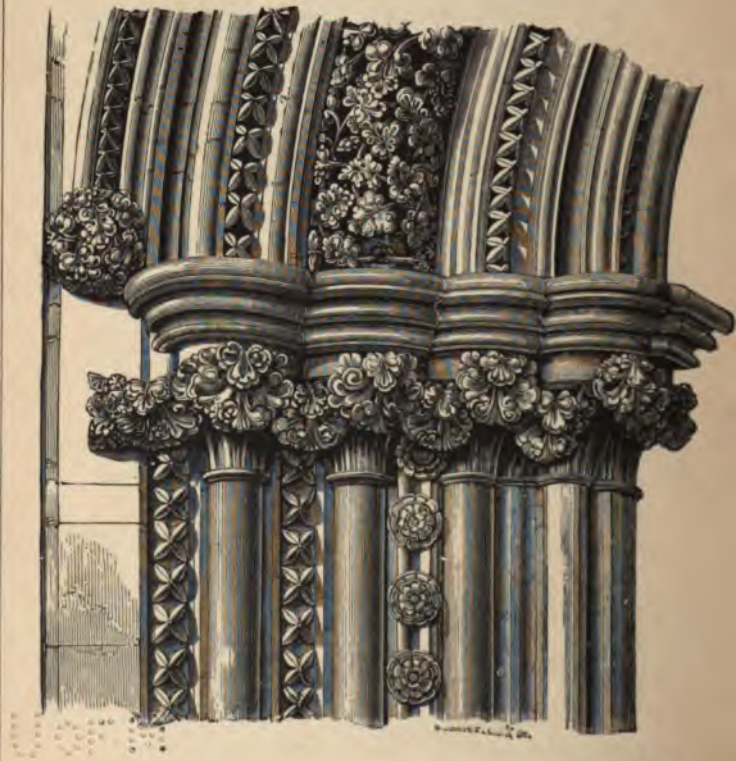
The eastern portion of the aisle in both transepts is raised on two steps and divided into three bays or chapels by projecting stone screens of the same date as the aisle itself. The sides and ends of the screens are ornamented with arcades. In the north

transept they retain their original gabled capping, with a finial at the end, and leafage in the front gables.

In the *south transept* the most southerly of these chapels was dedicated to St. Giles (or St. Thomas), and has a large late Decorated bracket against the south wall. The Perpendicular tomb below is that of Sir George Taylboys. In it is the grave of Dean Ward (died 1860), with an Aberdeen granite cross on its coffin-slab. The two lancets of the chapel above are filled with feeble coloured glass to his memory. The central chapel was St. Andrew's (or St. John the Evangelist's), and shews against its east wall an arcade of pointed arches, on double shafts, standing one behind the other. In the third chapel, originally dedicated to St. Anne, a chantry of four chaplains was founded by Henry Duke of Lancaster, who caused the chapel to be re-dedicated in honour of St. Edward the Martyr. At the back is St. Hugh's double wall-arcade, resembling those in the choir-aisles; and on a screen in front is a shield bearing the arms of England and France quarterly. Under the arch of the screen, which is of stone, the others being of wood, is the inscription, "*Oremus pro benefactoribus istius ecclesiæ*," with the figures of the four chantry priests, now headless.

In the south-west angle of this transept are the doors of the *Galilee porch* (see § xxx.). Against the west wall of the transept are the basement and supports of the silver shrine of ST. JOHN OF DALDERBY, Bishop of Lincoln (1300—1320: see Part II.). It

Mr. Tol



CAPITALS FROM THE DOORWAY OF THE NORTH CHOIR AISLE

was no doubt with the object of doing especial honour to this shrine that the south end of this transept was altered, and the beautiful rose-window inserted (see *post*). "At the very same time," observes Mr. Poole, "the authorities of Chichester were paying the like homage to the memory of St. Richard, their local saint¹."

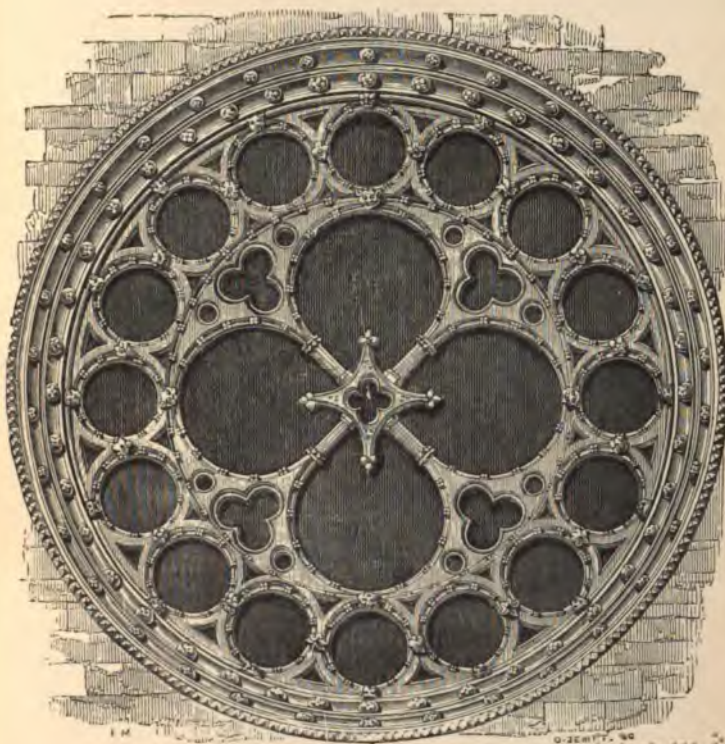
The *doorways* [Plate IV.] opening from this transept into the choir-aisles should be especially noticed. They belong to the last period of Early English, ranging between that style in its purity and the first Decorated, or "Geometrical." The doorways recede in four orders, with shafts of Purbeck at the angles. The spaces between the shafts are filled with the dog-tooth and rose ornaments; the capitals are enriched with leafage, among which are sculptured dragons, owls (two on the south door are especially quaint), and small human figures: above is a very rich open band of leafage. The blank trefoils in the spandrils, and the cresting, are additions of the last century.

In the *north transept* the southernmost chapel was dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle, the next to St. Denis, and the third to St. Nicholas (or St. Michael). The double wall-arcade in the first chapel extends partly into the central one, and is there exchanged for a single arcade of trefoiled arches. The visitor should notice the stone with nine holes for playing at a game (Peg Merrill), of

¹ Transactions of Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society.

which many examples are to be seen in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey and Canterbury; the monumental trefoiled stone of Simon of Barton, Archdeacon of Stow, 1280; and that of Dean William of Lessington, 1272. The doorways into both the choir-aisles are of the same date and character, but differ in some of their ornamentation.

The most remarkable portions of both transepts, however, are the *windows* in their south and north terminations. The end of the *north* transept has a door opening towards the Deanery. This is protected on the outside by a deeply recessed porch under three gables, which deserves attention from the singularity of its design. The central column and horizontal lintels of the double archway are very unusual. On either side of the door is a lancet window, filled with very admirable old glass, which deserves notice. That to the west contains angels with musical instruments. An arcade of seven pointed arches, five pierced for windows containing old silvery glass, covers the wall above; and above, again, is a large "rose" or "wheel" window, [Plate V.], retaining its original stained glass,— "One of the most splendid, and in its present state one of the most perfect works of the thirteenth century."—*C. Winston*. The window itself, which is probably part of St. Hugh's design, and may date soon after 1200, is filled with plate tracery, and on the exterior is delicately ornamented. The lightness and grace of the small open flowers and grotesque



CIRCULAR WINDOW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT,
THE "DEAN'S EYE."



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heads between and at the sides of the different circles, are admirable. The stone-work on the *interior* is "in a condition of great rudeness, owing to the repairs which have been made from time to time" for the preservation of the glazing. The subject of the *glass* is, "The Church on earth and the Church in heaven." "The central part of the window" (the central quatrefoil, and the four large spaces round it) "is occupied with a representation of the blessed in heaven, with Christ sitting in the midst." Each of the four trefoils in the angles between the large spaces contains the figure of an angel, tossing a thurible. The eight small circles at their sides contain four-leaved ornaments. "The sixteen circles which form the outer part of the window set forth the mysterious scheme of man's redemption, and the efficacy of the Church. In the topmost circle is represented our Saviour seated on a rainbow, and displaying the Five Wounds. The two next circles on each side the window contain angels supporting the cross, and other instruments of the Passion. In the next circle on each side are holy persons in the act of being conducted to heaven by St. Peter and other saints. The two next circles on each side are, or have been, occupied with a representation of the general resurrection; and each of the lowest five circles is filled either with the figure of an archbishop, or of a bishop in Eucharistic vestments^k."

^k C. Winston, Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral. (Lincoln Vol. of the Archæol. Institute.)

"The extraordinary intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, the tallness of the figures, their vigorous and spirited attitudes, and classical air of their heads,—also the conventional character of the foliated ornaments, as displayed in the borders and white patterns, and which resemble the ornaments of the contemporary sculptures,"—are all characteristics of the Early English style of glass-painting, and are all traceable in this window, which "also exhibits the general principles of composition common to any Early English window that contains a number of pictures. Each picture, the design of which is always very simple, is placed in a panel having a stiff-coloured ground, and well-defined border. The panels are also embedded in a stiff-coloured ground. Very little white glass is used, so that the window consists of a mass of rich and variegated colouring, of which the predominant tints are those of the grounds. The design, owing to the smallness of its parts, is confused when seen from the floor of the transept."—*C. Winston*. The best position for examining it is from the gallery of the triforium or clerestory.

The end of the *south transept* has three wide Early English arches below; above which are four lancet windows, filled with ancient stained glass brought from other parts of the cathedral. In the lowest panel of the second window from the west is depicted Herodias' daughter dancing before Herod, whose banquet is represented in the panel above. The lady is

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CIRCULAR WINDOW IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT:
THE "BISHOP'S EYE"

turning a somersault and vibrating her red-stockinged legs in the air. Above is the Last Supper, St. John reclining on our Lord's bosom. Above, again, is our Lord's Apprehension and the Kiss of Judas. In the uppermost panel is our Lord bearing a redeemed soul in the fold of His robe. In the next window, our Lord and St. Peter walking on the water, and the ship of St. Nicholas, may be identified; above is a rose-window of extreme richness [Plate VI.], the date of which is about 1330, and which is quite as remarkable as an example of the pure Decorated period as the window in the opposite transept is of the Early English. Pugin has compared the tracery to the fibres of a leaf. The window is set back within a foiled arch, the jambs of which are filled with a hollow ornament of very unusual character, and of somewhat doubtful effect. The stained glass in the window consists of fragments collected from different parts of the cathedral, and for the most part Early English. The great richness of the colouring is quite as noticeable here as in the window opposite.

According to the symbolism of the different parts of the church, in the "Metrical Life of St. Hugh," (written between the years 1220—1295), these windows typified the Bishop and the Dean—"Ecclesiæ duo sunt oculi¹;" the Bishop looked toward the south, the quarter of the Holy Spirit, as though inviting His influence; the Dean toward the north, the region of

¹ See the entire passage in Part III.

Lucifer (Is. xiv. 13), in order to watch against his advances.

XI. The *organ-screen* through which we enter the choir, is a very beautiful work of the early Decorated period, and deserves careful attention. It comprises four recessed tabernacles on either side of the central doorway, with very rich, ogee canopied arches, separated by detached buttressed piers. The tabernacles are groined continuously behind. Each division is subdivided by a shelf, enriched with leafage below. The tabernacle-work in the upper part, the grotesques at the angles of the arches and on the brackets on either side of the door, and the frieze of leafage over all, are alike exquisite in design and execution, belonging to the very best period of Gothic art. The diaper, once richly coloured, is partly modern.

The *organ*, which is placed upon the screen, is by Allen (1826).

XII. The *choir*, from the organ-screen to the altar, now consists of seven bays. Of these, the first five are St. Hugh's work (1186—1200), and were probably the earliest part of his cathedral. It is here that we may conceive him labouring with his own hands, according to the description in the "*Metrical Life*":—

"Non solum concedit opes, operamque suorum,
Sed proprii sudoris opem; lapidesque frequenter
Excisos fert in calatho, calcemque tenacem."

The eastern transept (also St. Hugh's work) opens

^m Life, p. 32. (See Part III.)

on either side of the fifth bay. The two easternmost bays of the choir belong to the later work (1255—1282); and together with the three bays at the back of the altar-screen, form the *presbytery*, generally known as the "*Angel-choir*," from the sculptures in the spandrels of the arches. The enlargement of the church was rendered necessary by the thronging of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Hugh, who had been canonised in 1220, and whose remains were solemnly translated into the new building, Oct. 6, 1280, at the cost of Bishop Thomas Bek, who was consecrated to the see of St. David's on the same day (see Part II.—BISHOP SUTTON).

The piers of the first four bays of the choir (as far as the opening of the transept) originally consisted of cylindrical shafts of Purbeck marble surrounding a pier of Lincoln stone. After the fall of the central tower, several of these piers were more or less cased, for the sake of strength, to the great detriment of their beauty. The classical character of the capitals—showing Corinthian forms with Early English foliage, [Plate IX.] should be especially noticed, as one of the indications of a style earlier than that of the nave. The *triforium* is in double groups of two arches, circumscribed by a larger one. The tympana are pierced with foiled ornaments of various forms, which on the south side are singularly distorted, and the capitals of the shafts greatly resemble those of the piers below. The *clerestory* is disposed in triplets, with small trefoiled openings carried on shafts, in the thickness

of the wall between them and the groining of the roof. The greater part of these are filled with modern stained glass by the Revs. A. and F. SUTTON, which, being too heavy in its hues, darkens the choir to an undesirable extent. Vaulting-shafts spring from late corbels between the piers. Before the introduction of the stalls they descended to the ground. The lower part and the bases may still be seen beneath the floor of the stalls, where also a portion of the curved wall of the apse of Remigius' cathedral remains *in situ*. The vault itself has groups of four ribs, passing to a central rib, with bosses of foliage. By a singular eccentricity the vaulting-cells are not, as is usually the case, opposite to each other, nor do the circumscribing ribs meet on the ridge-line. The effect is not pleasing.

The first bay within the choir has some peculiarities which deserve notice. Between the shafts of the triforium is a four-leaved ornament, so raised and exaggerated as to suggest the Norman zigzag. The shafts themselves are clumsy clusters of cylinders, forming a solid mass without capitals, too large for the arch they support. The vaulting is sexpartite, the clerestory containing two lancets, the vaulting-rib being carried between them. The main arches are ornamented with the dog-tooth. The arches have a hood-moulding, which ends abruptly on each side to the east; and on the south side, together with the mouldings of the arch, is singularly ringed. These two bays evidently underwent a reconstruction after

the fall of the tower, by which they must have been seriously damaged.

The comparison afforded between this portion of the choir and the later Early English work of the nave and the early Decorated of the Angel-choir, is very interesting and instructive. The leafage especially is much more antique in its forms and arrangements than that which appears in the nave.

The *stalls* are arranged between the organ-screen and the opening of the eastern transept. They are of the late Decorated period, the work of Treasurer Welbourn (1359—1380), and are "executed in the most perfect manner, not only as regards variety and beauty of ornamental design, but in accuracy of workmanship, which is frequently deficient in ancient examples of woodwork."—*A. W. Pugin*. The light and graceful canopies are carried quite round the choir. The carving of the misereres, which display the usual foliage, animals, and figures, is especially admirable. The two monkeys churning and afterwards hanging a third, who had stolen their butter, on the poppy-head of the Precentor's stall, deserve notice. The bishop's throne is modern (1778). The richly carved pulpit was erected from the designs of Sir G. G. Scott, in 1866, as a testimonial to the exertions of the present Bishop of Nottingham (then Prebendary Trollope) in the cause of Ecclesiastical architecture. It is ornamented with statuettes of the Evangelists, St. John Baptist, and St. Paul; and with reliefs of the preaching of Moses, the Baptist, St. James, and St. Paul. An

ancient stone in the pavement, inscribed "Cantate Hic," marks the position of the litany desk. In the centre of the choir is a brass eagle, with the date 1667.

XIII. The piers of the arches opening to the eastern transept belong to St. Hugh's work. They were strengthened and altered, however, when the Decorated work was added eastward, and the capitals of the shafts were at the same time entirely changed on the north side of the choir; on the south side those of the vaulting-shafts on the south-west angle remain of the Early English design. The difference between St. Hugh's work and the Decorated, and the manner in which the two are here made to combine are worthy of careful attention.

Two oaken beams pass across each transept opening at the spring of the lower arches, and at the level of the triforium. The piers had given way to a considerable extent before they were thus strengthened, owing, it has been suggested, to insecurity in the foundations: since the fosse of the Roman city crossed the cathedral at this place, and its continuations north and south are still visible. The beams are now concealed by a wretched ornamentation of pasteboard Gothic, constructed in the latter part of the last century. The iron fencing and gates which separate the choir from the transept are ancient, and very good, with the exception of their cresting, which is modern and not too good.

XIV. The arrangement of the Decorated work of the *Angel-choir* [Plate VII.] closely resembles that of



THE ANGEL-CHOIR, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



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St. Hugh's work, but differs, of course, in details and enrichment. The Angel-choir, which must have been completed in the year 1280, and commenced about 1255, consists altogether of five bays, two of which extend westward of the altar-screen. The piers have banded shafts, with rich capitals. A line of the dog-tooth ornament surrounds the arches. In the spandrils are blank trefoils. The triforium has two arches in each bay, each arch subdivided into two, with quatrefoils in the tympana. Clusters of shafts with very rich capitals, and leafed ornaments between the shafts, divide and support the arches, the mouldings above which are much enriched. The Purbeck marble shafts throughout the Angel-choir have been cleansed from yellow wash and renovated, to the great improvement of the general effect. In the spandrils are the figures of angels, which give the choir its popular name. The large clerestory windows above are of four lights, with quatrefoils in the headings, and a double plane of tracery. The vaulting-shafts spring from corbels between the arches enriched with foliage and small flowers. Below the corbels, and at the termination of the hood-mouldings of the lower arches, are small heads of kings, ladies, monks, and peasants, which deserve notice. The grotesque below the second corbel on the north side (counting from the east—it is in the retro-choir) represents an elf with large ears, and may perhaps be regarded as illustrating the mediæval folk-lore. The groining of the roof, which springs in groups of five ribs, has bosses of excellent foliage.

The vaulting has been denuded of its original plaster covering, which has imparted a rude unfinished air to an otherwise exquisite design. Throughout this work, however, the foliage is still somewhat conventional, and wants much of the naturalism of that decorating the Easter sepulchre (§ xv.), with which it should be compared: it is in fact intermediate between that and the Early English foliage of St. Hugh's work and of the nave. A comparison of the four periods will shew the gradual but steady progress of Gothic art. The Early English portion of the choir of Ely (see that Cathedral), dating between 1229 and 1254, and the superb Decorated portion of the same choir, commenced in 1338, may also be advantageously compared with the choir of Lincoln.

The sculptured figures of *angels* which fill the spandrils of the triforium arches, rank among the very best examples of Early English art, and will reward a very careful study. With few exceptions, the style of design and execution might be applied to works of the present day; "and ample compensation for all defects will be found in the vigour, freshness, and originality of idea which abound in them. They betray no trace whatever of the stiff Byzantine style so frequent in the English sculpture of the preceding century, and which was still adhered to in the works of the contemporary Italians—Cimabue, Gaddi, Duccio, and others; no formal constraint or superstitious enthusiasm, nor any undue employment of allegory (with which *they* are reproached) offend us in

the sculptures of Lincoln; all the freedom and naturalness attributed subsequently to Giotto, who was but an infant when these works were executed, are here anticipated, and strike us in every instance. Complete emancipation from any known prototype or prevailing manner is apparent; the artist dealt with his subject and material with all the originality and freedom of a master." All are carved in the same stone (the Lincoln oolite) employed in the architecture of the cathedral. They were wrought in the sculptor's workshop, and subsequently placed in their positions—a fact which is plainly shewn in the wings of the angel with a hawk on his wrist, on the south side of the choir; across these wings the joints of the stone were not adjusted in the building exactly as they had been wrought in the workshop.

In Mr. Cockerell's estimate of the value and great beauty of these sculptures all will agree; but there seems by no means sufficient ground for the elaborate explanation which he has given of the series. The arrangement of the triforium admits of three spaces between the arches,—a smaller one at either end, and a third, of double size, in the centre. The five bays of the choir thus contain fifteen spaces on either side; the sculptures in which are thus explained by Mr. Cockerell:

First bay on the south side, beginning at the south-east angle.

1. Angel of the Day-spring.

* C. R. Cockerell, *Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln Cathedral*. (Lincoln Vol. of the Archæol. Institute.)

2. Angel of the Patriarch David.
3. Angel with scroll, alluding to the prophecies in the Psalms.

Second bay.

4. Angel with trumpet, sounding the fame of David.
5. Angel of Solomon.
6. Angel with scroll: "possibly alluding to the prophecy of Ahijah." (1 Kings xi. 31.)

Third bay.

7. Angel with double trumpet: (the prophecy verified, and the kingdom divided).
8. Angel with pipe and tabret: representing the fallen state of Israel. "The pipe and tabret are in their feasts."
9. Angel of Daniel, with sealed book. (Dan. xii. 9.)

Fourth bay.

10. Angel of Isaiah. An abortion under his feet. "The children are come to the birth." (Isaiah xxxvii. 3.)
11. Angel of Ezekiel, with hawk. (Ezek. xvii. 3, 4.)
12. Angel of Jeremiah, "penetrated with grief and despondency."

Fifth bay.

13. Angel of the twelve minor prophets.
14. Angel holding a small figure (the human soul) towards
15. The Virgin, with the Holy Child. An angel censures them. "A surpassing composition which may serve to celebrate a school."

North side of choir, beginning at the north-west angle.

First bay.

16. Angel holding the crown of thorns.
17. Angel of Expulsion: he holds the sword with his right hand, and drives forth Adam and Eve with the other.
18. Angel holding the spear, and the sponge on a reed.

Second bay.

19. The Saviour, crowned with thorns, displays the wound in His side, and holds His hand (one finger of which is open) towards Adam and Eve, in the first bay. On the other side an angel holds towards Him a soul, with hands raised in prayer.

20. Angel of the Judgment, with balance.

21. Angel swinging a thurible.

Third bay.

22. Angel with palm-branch : the reward of the righteous.

23. Angel holding crowns : "the crown of glory which fadeth not away."

24. Angel of the Revelation, searching a scroll (the book of life).

Fourth bay.

25. Angel with stringed instruments, and

26. Angel with violin, representing "the joys of Heaven, the reign of peace."

27. Angel with palm and scroll : "the everlasting Gospel."

Fifth bay.

28. Angel with harp.

29. Angel with the sun and moon. (The Church appears in the moon in the form of a female head, and thence a scroll depending, and containing the doctrines of which she is the sacred depository.)

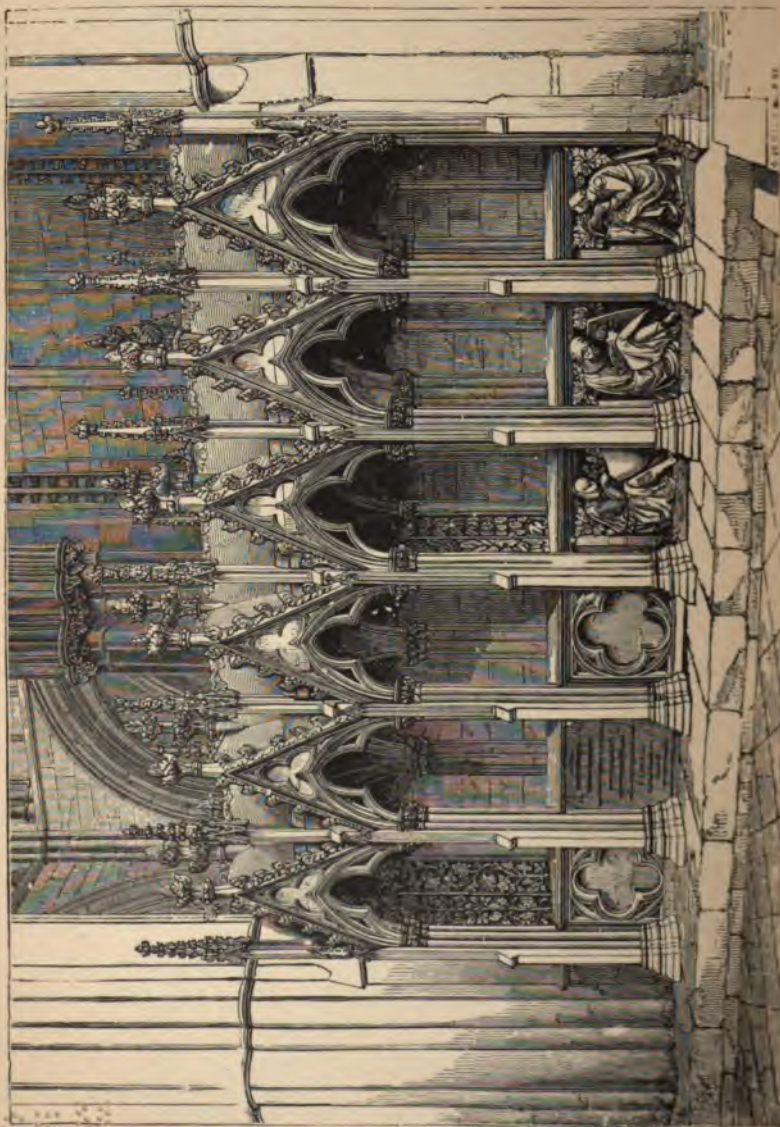
30. Angel with scroll. (Angel of the last chapter of the Revelation : "I am Alpha and Omega.")

It is due to Mr. Cockerell, who has most carefully examined these sculptures, and who has published engravings from the whole series, that his explana-

tions should here be given. They are drawn out and illustrated at considerable length in his paper on the subject: but the indications afforded by the figures themselves are, in fact, by far too slight to admit of more than a very general interpretation. It is not impossible that the angels in each bay refer to one of the orders of the celestial hierarchy, but even this is questionable. The small figures of angels in the south-east transept (see § XXIII.), which, although of earlier date, have a certain resemblance to these, deserve especial notice and comparison. The scrolls carried by the greater number of the choir angels once perhaps contained inscriptions, explaining the design of the entire work: all are now blank.

Mr. Cockerell has pointed out that "two hands, of very different merit, are plainly exhibited in these works. Of these the best are (the numbers are identical with those used in the description given above) those which range between 4 and 18, including those two numbers. "The remainder, though often of excellent design, are of inferior execution." The purity and dignity of the heads are throughout admirable, and many of the sculptures are of signal merit as compositions. Such is No. 15, in which the figures of the Virgin and Infant Saviour are not unworthy of Giotto. No. 17 is grand in action and expression; No. 23 is especially graceful. "The grand symmetry of the attitude, so entirely relieved from all dryness by variety in the lines of the





THE EASTER SEPULCHRE

drapery, and the quiet indications of expression, all display the great master."—*C. R. Cockerell*. Finally, No. 29 is dignified and impressive.

XV. On the north side of the choir, and in the first bay beyond the eastern transept, is a very elaborate tomb, divided into two portions; the eastern part having evidently served as the *Easter sepulchre*. [Plate VIII.] The whole erection is of the very best Decorated period; and the western portion was probably the tomb of its founder, whose name, however, has not been recorded. The whole consists of six bays, divided by a wall in the middle. Pedimented canopies rise in front from small buttressing shafts, crowned with pinnacles. Each bay is vaulted, and the wall ends (in the centre, and at the sides) are covered with foliage of oak, vine, and fig, admirably rendered, and examples of the very best naturalism. Remark the swine crunching the acorns beneath the oak, also the manner in which the leaf sprays are laid on the capitals of the shafts, and into the mouldings of the blank arcades at the sides. From the ridge-roof at the back of the canopies, itself crested by a line of leafage, rise large finials of leaves, sharply cut. In front of the panels of the eastern portion are three soldiers, armed, and sleeping (the Roman guards of the sepulchre. They are found also on the Easter sepulchres at Heckington, Hawton and Pattrington-on-Humber). "They are admirably composed and executed; the heads, however, have been sadly defaced. They will repay the artist in their

sentiment and expression, in their well-contrived groupings, and in the artistic arrangement of their accessories."—*C. W. Cockerell*. The leafage at the angles is especially good; and, owing to the hardness of the stone, the carving of the entire monument is for the most part as fresh as when first executed.

The western part of this tomb is known as that of Bishop Remigius, but it was only so appropriated after the Restoration by Bishop Fuller, who placed an inscription in memory of Remigius within it.

In the opposite bay, on the south side of the choir, are the tombs of CATHERINE SWYNFORD (Duchess of Lancaster), last wife of John of Gaunt; and of her daughter JOAN COUNTESS OF WESTMORELAND. These tombs were originally side by side, but on the repairing of the church by Bishop Fuller were placed end to end, to the great damage of the Duchess's tomb, which had a fine canopy, now replaced by a very ugly one of debased character. The face of the tomb has been inverted, and the brasses and coats of arms have entirely disappeared. At the east end is a beautiful diapered pattern of open flowers of earlier date.

The *altar-screen*, which retains a considerable portion of original work, was repaired by Essex in the latter part of the last century. The same architect designed the central pedimented canopy, copied from the tomb of Bishop de Luda at Ely. The wall behind was formerly solid, but it was pierced by Mr. Buckler after the erection of the new east window, to obtain

a less interrupted view of the painted glass. The brass altar-rail and tall gas-standards (the latter designed by Mr. Pearson) deserve notice. The pavement of the eastern bay is richly inlaid with marbles and encaustic tiles.

XVI. The *north choir-aisle*, which we enter from the great transept, is part of St. Hugh's work. The wall at the back of the stalls in the first three bays is of Grostête's time, built to strengthen the fabric after the fall of the tower. It is decorated with an arcade on triple shafts, and having the dog-tooth ornament, and bosses resembling twisted rope, at the springing of the arches. Observe a corbel-head of Purbeck marble once carrying an image, on the west face of the third pier. This had been built up when Grostête's walls were erected, and has only recently been revealed. The arcade in the last bay eastward belongs to a later period, and was perhaps the work of the constructors of the Angel-choir.

The *windows* in this aisle are double lancets, with shafts at the angles, and a group of three in the centre between each two lancets. This group springs from a richly carved bracket, which curiously overhangs the arcade below. The arcade itself is of double intersecting arches, the inner arches pointed, the outer trefoiled. The dog's-tooth occurs in the inner mouldings. In both arcades the capitals of the shafts are richly foliated: and in the spandrels are small projecting figures of angels and saints.

The vaulting is quinquipartite, with pointed arches,

and is carried from the piers of the choir, and from clustered shafts standing detached in front of the wall arcade.

XVII. The *north-east transept*, opening from the choir-aisle is, like that, part of St. Hugh's work. It terminates, eastward, in two apsidal chapels. The eastern termination of St. Hugh's cathedral was also apsidal, and extended nearly as far as the present altar, where its foundations have been traced. The central apse was removed when the Decorated presbytery was erected. The transept consists of three bays. The northern end is cut off by a transverse arch and wall, along which the triforium and clerestory are carried. The bay thus separated is vaulted



Corbel, North-East Transept.

at the level of the triforium. The lancets behind this wall are filled with Peckitt's glass, removed from the east window. This singular arrangement is accounted for by the original intention of the builders having been to terminate the transept with towers, something as at Exeter and at Ottery. A door opens here into the vestibule of the cloisters. The triforium through-

out is much the same as in the choir. The first two bays on the east side, with their unperforated tympanum, when compared with the adjacent bays, afford an instructive lesson in the history of tracery. The clerestory is in single lancets, each set in a bay of the sexpartite vaulting.

The first apsidal chapel was dedicated to St. Hugh, and has a pointed arcade below the two windows. The north apse, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was the first resting-place of the body of St. Hugh, by the side of the altar of his patron saint, at which he had been in the habit of saying mass. Soon after his interment the chapel was enlarged to a long parallelogram, to accommodate the worshippers who flocked to his tomb before the body was translated to the Angel-choir. It was "restored" to its original shape in 1772. The foundations may be seen outside. An enriched doorway, blocked in Grostête's time and ornamented with his trellis-work, opened from this chapel, north, into the "camera communis," or common-room of the canons. This chapel contains the monument of Dean Honynwood, the remains of the canopy of the Burghersh monuments, and of Grostête's tomb, and a remarkably fine effigy of a priest fully vested, dug up in the vicinity of the cathedral. Both apses are enclosed by wooden screens of Perpendicular date.

At the north-west angle of the transept is a very remarkable *pier*, with detached shafts, the fellow of

which occupies a corresponding position in the opposite transept, where it stands quite free, and is consequently better seen than this in the northern transept, which has been partly built into the transept wall. The pier itself is of Lincoln stone, and octagonal. From four of its sides spring leaves, ascending vertically. Detached shafts of Purbeck, four circular, and four (placed slightly within the others) hexagons, with hollow sides, surround the pier, which is banded half-way up, and terminates in capitals of rich leafage. The effect is very striking and peculiar. A similar arrangement occurs on the west front of Wells, a few years later than Lincoln. It seems confined to England. According to M. Viollet-le-Duc, the crockets between the shafts, and the shafts with hexagonal concave sections, are nowhere found in France°. It is to these shafts that the description in the "Metrical Life of St. Hugh" applies; the Purbeck marble of which they are composed is there said to have been softened with vinegar before it was worked:—

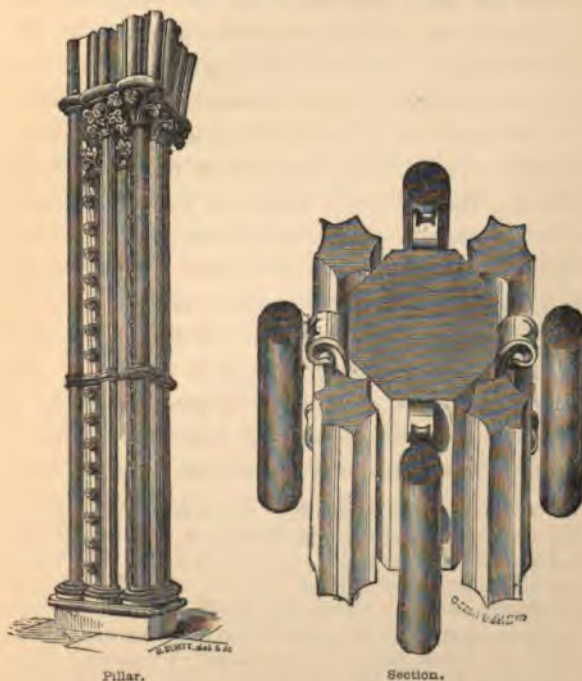
". . . nulloque domari
 Dignatur ferro, nisi quando domatur ab arte;
 Quando superficies nimiis laxatur arenæ
 Pulsibus, et solidum forti penetratur aceto.
 Inspectus lapis iste potest suspendere mentes,
 Ambiguus utrum jaspis marmorve sit; at si
 Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si marmor, nobile marmor.
 Inde columnellæ, quæ sic cinxere columnas
 Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream."

* See M. Viollet-le-Duc's letter in Part III.

According to the symbolism, the Purbeck marble figures the spouse :—

“simplex, morosa, laborans.
Recte nimirum designat simplicitatem
Planities, splendor mores, nigredo laborem.”

(See the whole passage in Part III.) The banding and ornaments of the second pier (supporting the vaulting) of the transept should also be noticed.



In the west wall a door opens to an ancient vestry,

known as the *Dean's Chapel*. It was originally open like the corresponding vestry on the south side, but was blocked off and divided into two stories very soon after its erection. At the same time small windows to light the lower apartment were opened in the wall-arcade on the west side. The shutters of these windows should be noticed. They are work of the thirteenth century. The upper story is said to have served as the "pharmacy" of the cathedral, the aumbries in the walls having been constructed to contain the drugs. The floor dividing the two has been long since removed. On the same part of the transept wall are paintings of four bishops,—Bloet, Alexander, Chesney, and De Blois,—interred in this part of the church. The paintings, which are so much decayed as to be scarcely decipherable, were the work of a Venetian, named Damini, in 1723^p. In the north wall a door opens to the cloisters (§ xxv.)

XVIII. The *choir-aisle*, east of the transept, is Decorated (1270—1282), like this portion of the choir itself, and the great difference between it and St. Hugh's work is at once apparent. The windows are filled with pure geometrical tracery, of one

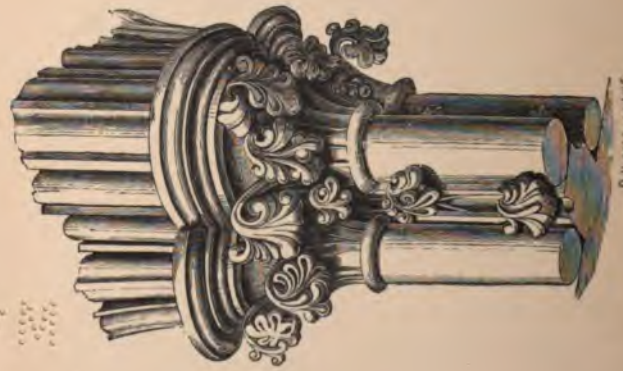
^p In this transept formerly stood what a survey of 1641 calls the "watching-chamber,"—"a chamber of timber where the searchers of the church used to lie; under which, every night, they had an allowance of bread and beer. At the shutting of the church doors the custom was to toll the greatest of Our Lady's bells forty tolls, and after to go to that place and eat and drink, and then to walk round and search the church." Is it possible that this "chamber of timber" can have been originally the watching-chamber attached to St. Hugh's shrine?

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1890
 1891
 1892
 1893
 1894
 1895
 1896
 1897
 1898
 1899
 1900

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

PLATE IX.



0-11. 1111. 1111. 1111.

CAPITAL, FROM NORTH AISLE OF
ANGEL-CHOIR.



0-11. 1111. 1111. 1111.

CAPITAL, FROM ARCADE, NORTH AISLE
OF CHOIR.

design. The wall space on either side of the windows is ornamented by two blank arches, the spandrils of which are filled with rich tracery having enwreathed leafage with lizards, at the angles. A leaf-ornament fills the hollow between the window-shafts; and the hood-mouldings of the windows terminate in small heads. Vaulting-shafts, with enriched capitals, [Plate IX.], rise between the windows; and beneath runs a blind arcade, the ornaments in the quatrefoils of which, and the small heads of the angles of the trefoils in the tympana, should be noticed. The whole effect of this part of the church is very rich, but, unusually, the ornament is the same throughout. The bosses of the roof, carved in leafage, with birds and grotesques, are admirable, and deserve all possible attention. A double doorway in the central bay of the aisle forms the north-east entrance to the cathedral. The central shaft dividing the doorways is of later insertion, and bears the shield of Edward IV. One of the mouldings of the external arch is, singularly enough, of wood.

Opening from the next bay is the chantry of Bishop FLEMING, founder of Lincoln College, Oxford,—see Pt. II.,—(1420—1431), desolate and ruined. Within the chantry is the Bishop's effigy. Beneath an altar-tomb on the south side, and seen from the aisle, is a "cadaver" wrapt in a shroud—a figure of frequent occurrence in monuments of this period.

In the last bay of this aisle is the monument of BARTHOLOMEW, LORD BURGHESH (died 1356), elder

brother of Bishop Henry of Burghersh, whose tomb is opposite. Lord Burghersh served in the wars of Edward II. in France and Scotland, was afterwards present at Cressy, and has obtained the distinction of an honourable notice from the pen of Froissart. His effigy, of later date than his tomb, has the head resting on the helmet, from which projects his crest. At the head is the armorial bearing of Burghersh,—a lion rampant, double queued, supported by two angels. Above is a rich canopy. The shields of arms on the side are those of families with whom Lord Burghersh was immediately allied or connected.

In the east window of this and of the corresponding aisle are some excellent examples of ancient glass of different dates, brought together from various parts of the cathedral. They are in striking contrast with two modern windows in the aisle, one by CLAYTON AND BELL to the memory of Lord Yarborough, and one by WARD AND HUGHES, in memory of Chancellor Pretyman.

XIX. The fine *east window* of the choir is of the same date as those of the aisles, which it resembles in its mouldings. The same arcade runs below it. It is filled with modern stained glass by Messrs. WARD AND HUGHES, the leading subject being the Redemption of Mankind by the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. Twenty-eight roundels, sixteen arranged vertically in the centre and six horizontally, so as to form a cross, illustrate the Life and Death of Christ, commencing with the Annunciation. Twenty medal-

lions, six in each row, form an external square of Old Testament subjects typical of the work of Redemption, commencing with the Fall and the Expulsion from Paradise. The sixteen remaining spaces are filled with medallions, each bearing the figure of a Prophet. The window cannot be pronounced to be bad either in design or execution, but compared with the ancient examples on either side of it, the glass is thin and poor; and it cannot but be wished that so important a window were more worthily filled.

XX. Projecting from the east wall of the cathedral, between the north aisle and the choir, are the tombs of SIR ROBERT OF BURGHERSH (*i.e.* Burwash in Sussex) (the father of the Bishop), and of Bishop HENRY OF BURGHERSH (1320—1342). The first is plain; on the second is the Bishop's richly vested effigy. The tombs are placed in a line, with short buttresses between them. On the north side is a series of very rich canopied niches, containing a very interesting series of figures of royal and noble personages seated or standing, all mutilated and headless. Those on the bishop's tomb represent Edward III. and his four sons, and Thomas Earl of Leicester and Lincoln. All these personages, according to the custom of the day, had been admitted in 1343 into the confraternity of the cathedral, and were specially commemorated at the chantry altar of St. Catherine, founded by the Burghersh family at the east end of the north aisle. In spandrels between the canopies are various armorial bearings connected with the house of Burghersh.

At the west end of the tombs projects the stone base of a feretory, or portable shrine, once containing relics, having on the north and west sides very rich canopied kneeling-recesses, with emblems of the Passion in the spandrils. A stone in the pavement, immediately in front of the shrine, is much indented, —it is said by the knees and feet of the worshippers.

At the back of the altar-screen are the tombs of—
Bishop GARDINER (1695—1705), with a long string of commendatory Sapphics:—

“Vera si cordi est pietas, fidesque
Si pudor priscus, placidusque mentis
Candor; antiquos imitare mores
Gardinerumque;”—

and of some members of his family; of Bishop FULLER (1667—1675); and a memorial placed here by Bishop Fuller for St. Hugh, whose golden shrine (see Pt. II.) was removed into this part of the cathedral in 1282.

XXI. On the south side of the altar, opposite the Burghersh tombs, are two monuments beneath lofty arches, with Decorated canopies. The eastern tomb, which supports the effigy of a knight, much shattered, is that of SIR NICHOLAS DE CANTILUPE (died 1355); on the western is the effigy of Prior Wymbysh, of Nocton, subdean of the cathedral, duly vested as a canon, whose arms appear on the side of the tomb. To the north of the Cantilupe tomb is a modern cenotaph, designed by Blore, to the two celebrated painters, Hilton (died 1839) and De Wint (died 1849), both

natives of Lincoln, decorated with copies in relief of some of their chief pictures.

At the east end of the *south choir-aisle* was a chantry founded by Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe, dedicated to St. Nicholas. The bowels of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I., who died at Harby, between Lincoln and Newark, were interred on the south side of the Burgersh tombs, beneath a monument on which was her effigy in brass, resembling that in Westminster Abbey. The first of the series of Queen Eleanor's crosses was erected at Lincoln. The window of the first bay of the south aisle has been filled with very gaudy glass by a Nuremberg artist, to the memory of Chancellor C. S. Bird.

XXII. Opening from the second bay of the north choir-aisle is the chantry of Bishop RUSSELL (1480—1496), the altar in which was dedicated to St. Blaize. The frieze and ornaments deserve notice.

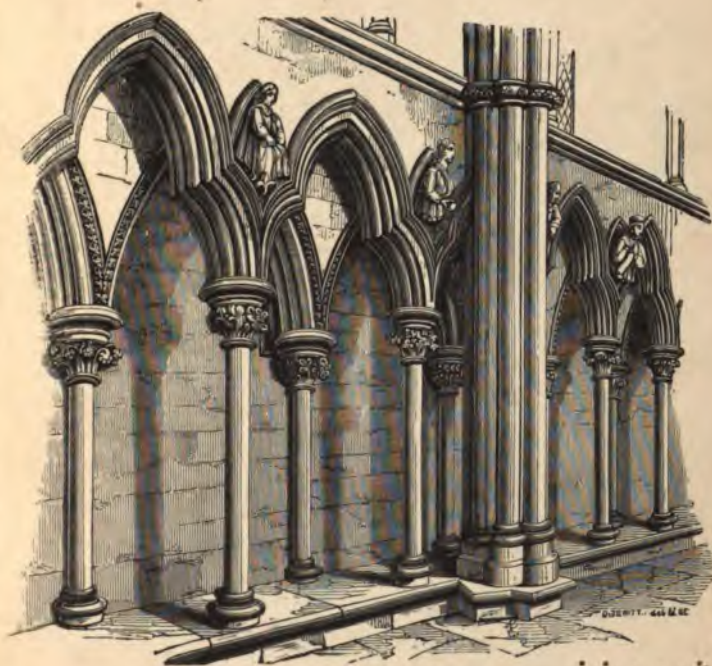
In the next bay is the entrance to the cathedral from the south-east porch. (See § XXXI.) Stained glass has been introduced in the headings of the doors with good effect. The window below contains the names of the chancellors of the diocese of Lincoln, beginning with Hugh (1092), and ending with Edward White Benson (Bishop of Truro), 1872. Under this window is the entrance to Bishop LONGLAND's chantry (1521—1547), whose name is referred to in the inscription on the screen facing the aisle,—“*Longa terra mensura ejus, Dominus dedit.*” Between the words ‘*ejus*’ and ‘*Dominus*’ are the arms of Henry VIII. The windows

and roof of this small but very rich chantry have been carefully restored. At the west end are a series of niches in the renaissance style, which were apparently never finished. The bases were filled with minute sculpture, now mutilated.

The arcade [Plate X.] and enrichments of this aisle, as far as the opening of the eastern transept, are the same as those of the aisle opposite.

XXIII. The *south-east transept* differs in its detail from the north-east. Like that, it is part of St. Hugh's work, and the southern end was originally divided off by a transverse wall. That has been removed, and the windows and arches altered, apparently about the middle of the thirteenth century. The transept is of two bays, terminating eastward in apsidal chapels. On the west side a vestry opens, corresponding to that—now closed—in the north-east transept.

The first or northern bay of the transept, and the lower story of the second, belong to the original building of St. Hugh. The upper stories of the latter are still Early English, but the later and far more enriched character of the work is at once evident. The south end of the transept (which is open throughout, and not vaulted above the pier-arches, as in the north-east) has three tiers of windows, below which the wall is covered with St. Hugh's double arcade [Plate XI.], with its plain and trefoiled arches. (See § XVI.) Here the outer arcade has small figures of winged angels projecting from its spandrels; similar figures, holding scrolls, open

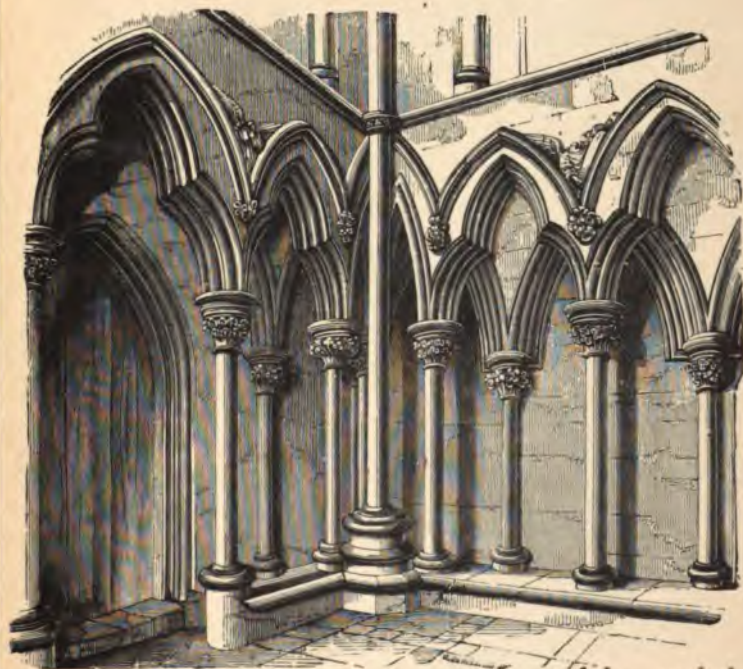


UoM

INTERSECTING ARCADE, SOUTH AISLE OF CHOIR.



1111



Dorm

INTERSECTING ARCADE, CHORISTERS' VESTRY

11-11-11

11-11-11

volumes, and musical instruments, occur in the same positions in the arcade which runs round the west chapel of the transept. All are terribly shattered; but they have an especial interest, since they are evidently the prototypes of the grand angelic figures, already described, in the spandrils of the choir.

The south windows of the transept are filled with modern stained glass by HEDGELAND: the upper tier containing figures from the Old Testament; the middle tier, subjects from the Gospels; and the lowest, from the Acts of the Apostles. The glass is much too fiery when seen near, but the effect of these windows, seen across the church, is very good.

The north apse, dedicated to St. Paul, is used as a vestry. The windows are filled with the Messrs. SUTTON's glass. The leaf-ornament in the filleting of the Purbeck shafts should be noticed. The south apse, dedicated to St. Peter, contains a memorial of Bishop KAYE (died 1853). On an altar-tomb reposes a marble effigy of the bishop, by WESTMACOTT, fully vested, holding the Bible and dropping the pastoral staff. The light falls on the figure from three windows, filled with simply diapered glass. The effigy is striking, but the upraised hands of the older figures are far more impressive.

On the floor of the transept are stones marked with the names of—Bishop GROSTÈTE (died 1254); Bishop RICHARD OF GRAVESEND (died 1280); Bishop REPINGDON (died, 1420); and Bishop LEXINGTON (died 1258); all of whom were buried in this part of the church.

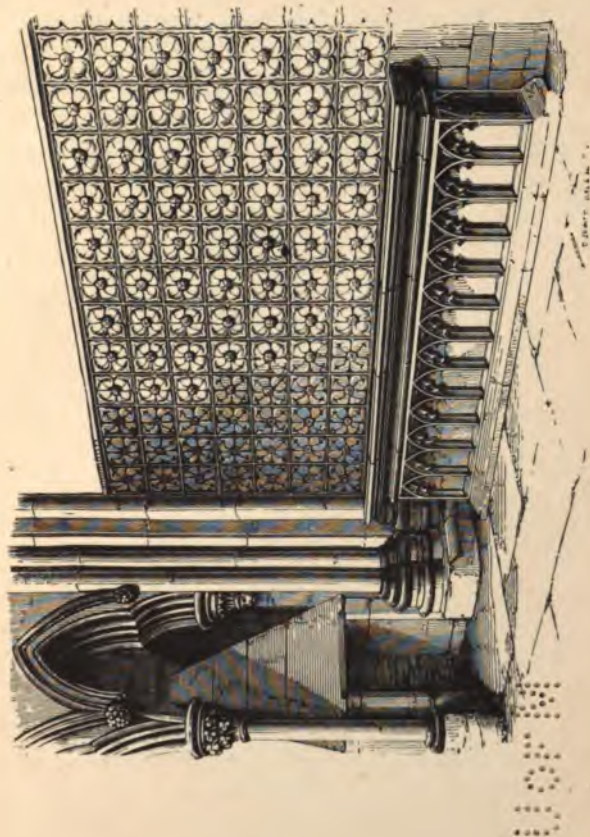
Their monuments were destroyed during the Civil War. In the choir-aisle, under the tomb of the Duchess of Lancaster, is a stone bearing the name of the chronicler HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, (died 1149),—Archdeacon of Lincoln.

The ancient *choristers' vestry* opens on the west side of the transept. The double arcade round the walls, and the angels in the spandrels, have already been noticed. In the west wall is a stone chimney, with a hood; and the vestry is separated from the choir-aisle by a stone screen (of Decorated character), covered on both sides with a rich diaper of large open lilies. On the north, facing to the aisle, a bird's nest with fledglings, and the parent birds flying to and from the nest, should be noted. Below the screen is a plain stone lavatory. [Plate XII.]

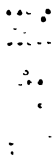
The sexpartite vaulting of the transept, with its bosses, is of the same date as the south bay (*circa* 1250). The pier at the north-west angle resembles that in the north-east transept (§ xvii.), but is better seen.

A door in the south-west angle leads through a passage to the principal *vestry*, a late Early English building of three stories, the upper of which is used as a song-school, and the lowest, forming a crypt approached by a trap-door, was probably a treasury. The vestry proper is a fine vaulted apartment.

XXIV. The aisle west of the transept is St. Hugh's work, like that opposite. St. Hugh's double arcade, with figures of angels and saints projecting from the



LAVATORY AND FIREPLACE IN THE CHORISTERS' VESTRY.



sandrials, lines the south wall. The choir-wall had an arcade of plain arches of Grostête's time, which has been removed in the westernmost bay to accommodate a staircase in the wall leading to the timber chamber of the Constable of the close, once built aloft in the aisle, and in the third bay, for the richly panelled back of the shrine of LITTLE ST. HUGH,—the Christian boy said to have been crucified by the Jews in the year 1255. (For the story, which is told at great length by Matthew Paris, and which is the subject of the well-known ballad of "St. Hugh of Lincoln," see Part II.—Bishop LEXINGTON.) After his body had been miraculously discovered, it was interred in the cathedral, and a rich shrine was erected over it. The base of this shrine remains. The central boss of the groining of the canopy is also preserved. The back of the choir-wall has an arcade with geometrical tracery and canopied headings, enriched with the ball-flower, and with large-leaved finials, almost exactly corresponding to the wall-arcade of the aisles of the nave of York Minster*. As that nave was built by Archbishop John Le Romeyn, who had been previously Chancellor and Precentor of Lincoln, the two may have had the same designer. The base of the shrine (which is in fact the covering of the tomb) was removed during the repaving of the cathedral in 1790, when a stone coffin was found close below it, lying level with the pavement. The coffin

* A drawing of this shrine, before its destruction, will be found in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

contained the complete skeleton of a boy, 3 feet 3 inches long. "St. Hugh of Lincoln, Martyr," still keeps his place in the Roman Calendar on June 29.

XXV. Returning into the north-east transept, we enter the *cloister* through a doorway in the north wall. The cloister (which, it may be remarked, is unusually placed, extending from the eastern transept to the northern front of the great transept) was the work of Bishop OLIVER SUTTON (1280—1300); and its early Decorated windows deserve attention, as do the carved bosses of its oaken roof, which are full of beauty and variety. Three sides of Bishop Sutton's cloister remain, but the fourth, or northern walk, having been demolished (it is said by Dean Mackworth in the fifteenth century to build his stables) and lying in ruins, was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, together with the library, which ranges above it.

Under the staircase of the library, at the north-east angle of the cloister, are preserved some fragments of Roman altars and sepulchral inscriptions, amphoræ, mosaic pavements, &c. In the cloister, among other architectural fragments, is a fragment of early Norman sculpture disinterred from the Cathedral Close, which is of still higher interest. It represents an apostle, perhaps St. John, holding a book, and crowned with a circular disc, or nimbus. At the side is a remarkable ornament, which seems to have formed part of an oval figure (a rainbow or *vesica piscis*?), in which was probably the Saviour. Part of the robe is visible, together with the emblems of St.

Mark and St. John,—the lion and the eagle. Here are also the original "Swineherd of Stow," removed from the southern turret of the west front in 1850; several stone coffins, one curiously decorated with interlacing circles; another singularly jointed; some of the carved shafts needlessly removed from the western doorways when under restoration, and other architectural fragments [see *Title-page*]. In 1879 a Roman mile-stone was placed here, discovered in the centre of the Roman city, opposite the Lion and Snake Inn, in the Bail. It bears the name of Marcus Piavonius Victorinus, one of the thirty tyrants, A.D. 268, and marks the distance, fourteen miles, from Segelocum, now Littleborough-on-Trent.

In the open square of the cloister a Roman tessellated pavement was discovered in 1793. A portion of it, together with other fragments of similar pavement, discovered in 1879, to the west of the Exchequer arch, is placed at the foot of the library staircase. The wall of the Roman city stretched across the site of the cathedral nearly in a line with the eastern wall of the cloister.

XXVI. The view of the *central tower* from the north-east angle of the cloisters is fine. To the top of the first story above the roof the tower is Early English, and the work most probably of Bishop Grostête. (See § ix.) The shafts in this story are crocketed, somewhat in the manner of the remarkable piers at the angles of the transept (§§ xxii., xxiii.). The upper or Decorated portion of the tower is very

fine and massive, and seems to have been completed during the episcopate of St. John of Dalderby, about the year 1306.

In this tower is hung the famous bell known as "Great Tom of Lincoln," first cast in 1610 at a temporary foundry set up in the Minster-yard, but broken up in consequence of a fissure in 1834, and sent to London to be recast. In April, 1835, the new bell was hung in the great tower. Its weight is 5 tons 8 cwt.,—exactly a ton heavier than its predecessor; and it is 7 inches more in diameter at the mouth, measuring 6 ft. 10½ inches, instead of 6 ft. 3½. Its larger dimensions are due to its having absorbed the metal of a charming little peal of six bells which formerly hung in the central tower, and were rung daily by the choristers for prayers. They were known as the "Lady Bells." On every ground their sacrifice is deeply to be lamented. Round the crown of this bell is the following inscription, repeated from the old bell:—"Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedens, suaviter sonans ad salutem." Round the lips are the names of the Chapter at the time of the recasting. Great Tom of Lincoln* ranks third in size among English bells. It is

* The hours are struck on it by a hammer. "We ascended one of the other towers to see Great Tom," writes Southey, (Esprella's Letter). "At first it disappointed me, but the disappointment wore off, and we became satisfied that it was as great a thing as it was said to be. A tall man might stand in it upright; the mouth measures one-and-twenty English feet in circumference; and it would be a large tree of which the girth equalled the size of the middle."





INTERIOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST

exceeded by Great Tom of Oxford and by Great Peter of Exeter.

The buttresses of the great transept run to the top of the clerestory, and terminate in lofty pinnacles higher than the roof. Each pinnacle contains a niche for a statue. There are pinnacles at the angles of the north front; and a group of five lancets, lighting the roof, are here seen above the rose-window. The exterior of this window, already mentioned (§ x.), may be examined from this point.

XXVII. The *chapter-house* [Plate XIII.], which is of much earlier date than the cloisters, opens from the eastern walk. Its west front is best seen from the north walk, and shews a circular window-opening, without tracery, above which are three gables. Those at the side cover staircase turrets. A pointed arcade runs along the base of all three, below three lancet-lights in the centre gable, and a single lancet in each of the others.

It has been usual to attribute the chapter-house to St. Hugh, on the strength of a miscopied passage in Giraldus Cambrensis' "Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln;" but a careful examination proves that it is considerably later, and that it cannot date much before the middle of the thirteenth century¹. Mr. Dimock has shewn that the word "capitulum" is an error of

¹ The author of the "Metrical Life" implies that it was begun by St. Hugh, but that it remained unfinished at his death, to be completed by Bishop Hugh of Wells:—

"Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo."

Wharton or his transcriber, for "capicium," the eastern limb or "chevet" of a church, and that therefore the architectural and documentary evidence, instead of being at variance, are in perfect accordance. The doorway in the cloister, much enriched, is formed by two pointed arches, circumscribed with a larger one, with a pierced quatrefoil in the tympanum; on either side is a blank arch. Beyond the doorway is a vestibule, lighted by four windows, below which runs a blank arcade. The circular window at the west end, with the shafts at its sides, should here be noticed from within. The chapter-house itself is a decagon. In each bay are two lancet windows, between which rise clustered vaulting-shafts of Purbeck. These shafts spring from corbels, which resemble those in the Decorated work of the choir, and cannot be much earlier. An arcade lines the walls below the windows. The central pillar is surrounded by ten Purbeck shafts, hexagons, hollowed at the sides. Fronting the east, above the filleting, is a bracket sculptured with oak-leaves and acorns, upon which once probably stood a figure of the Virgin. A hole in the floor beneath is said to have been used for supporting the silver processional cross. The bosses of the groined roof should be noticed. Under the auspices of the Bishop of Nottingham (better known as Archdeacon Trollope) a scheme was inaugurated a few years since for filling the windows of the chapter-house with stained glass, illustrative of the history of the cathedral and its bishops. Up to the present time, five of the lancets

have been thus treated. The first two on the left of the entrance are memorials of the Chancellor Massingberd, the third to Prebendary Gilbert, the fourth to the Rev. Humphry Sibthorp, and the fifth to the late Bishop Mackenzie, suffragan of Nottingham, subdean of the cathedral. The series, beginning with Remigius, comes down to Bishop Oliver Sutton. All the windows are by the Messrs. CLAYTON AND BELL.

This fine and impressive chapter-house is earlier than the chapter-house of Salisbury (*circa* 1280), or than that of Wells (*circa* 1300); and consequently forms an interesting example in the series.

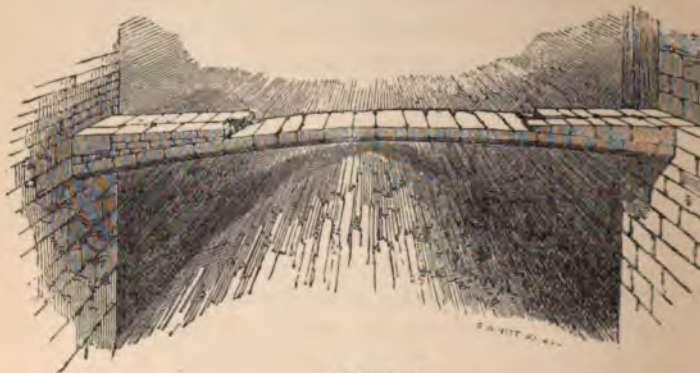
XXVIII. The ancient *Library*, which ran northwards from the chapter-house over the cloisters, was partly destroyed by fire, together with the greater part of the volumes it contained, in 1609. It was rebuilt as we see it at present, after the Restoration, chiefly at the cost of Dr. Michael Honywood, the then dean, who refurnished the library, and placed in it a most valuable collection of MSS. and early printed books. These last are arranged in lock-up cases at the west end of the Library. Some of the MSS. are of much interest, though several have been shamefully mutilated for the sake of the illuminations. The most important MS. is a volume of old English Romances, dating about 1430-40, and collected by Robert of Thornton, Archdeacon of Bedford in 1450, who was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. There is also one volume of a copy of the Vulgate, the first book possessed by the Chapter of Lincoln, presented by Nicholas, Arch-

deacon of Lincoln 1106. The *printed books*, about 4500 volumes, are placed in the principal library, extending over the whole length of the north walk. The collection is still valuable, containing early Bibles and Liturgies, with Caxton's and other early printed books, but the most remarkable volumes, including seven specimens of Caxton, were all sold after the visit of Dr. Dibdin to the library, who became himself the purchaser of "certaine bokes," the glories of which he duly set before the world in a tract entitled "The Lincolne Nosegay." A glass case exhibits the most perfect of the four extant contemporaneous copies of the Magna Charta. In another are preserved episcopal rings, chalices, patens, &c., from the rifled tombs of the bishops, opened when the new pavement was laid down in the last century, portions of Grostete's pastoral staff, and other archaeological curiosities. Some Roman urns, and other antiquities, are preserved in the ante-library, together with a curious leaden plate, bearing an inscription to the memory of William D'Eyncourt, a relative of Bishop Remigius. On the wall hangs a fine portrait of Dean Honywood, by CORNELIUS JANSEN, and one of his grandmother, Dame Mary Honywood, celebrated for her longevity and the number of descendants she lived to see.

XXIX. Returning into the cathedral, the architectural student may ascend the west front, and inspect the remarkable "*stone beam*" which crosses the space between the western towers. The ascent is made from either of the buttress-turrets of the west front; from

which galleries lighted by loopholes, extend along the front at different levels. In these galleries the junction of the Norman wall with the Early English may be readily traced ; and the difference between the dressings of the stone-work should be observed : the lines of the Norman chisel run diagonally across the stone, while the other shews the peculiar mark of what is called the "toothed-chisel." From one of these galleries access is obtained to a platform between the head of the great west window and the rose-window above it, known as "*Sir Joseph Banks' view*," commanding a very striking view of the whole length of the church to the great east window. In the chambers in the upper part of the screen the gables formerly surmounting the Norman front may be traced. The view over the Wolds from the roof of the front is striking. From the roof a door opens into the north-west tower ; and thence, through the belfry chamber, upon the vaulting of the nave,—just above which is the so-called "stone beam." This is an arch, composed of twenty-three stones of unequal lengths, but uniformly 11 inches in depth and 1 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in breadth. For what purpose, or at what exact period it was constructed, cannot readily be determined ; but it seems most probable that the arch was erected before the upper portions of the towers were built, in order to ascertain whether the great additional weight could be safely borne. "The arch is constructed of stone from the Lincoln quarries. . . . The exposed surfaces are wrought with the toothed chisel in a careless and imperfect manner, and the

joints, contrary to what might have been expected, are decidedly ill-formed, and have beds of mortar full half an inch in thickness within them. There is no trace of iron being used in the construction of the arch, either



Stone Beam.

in dowels or other form. . . The arch vibrates perceptibly when jumped upon ; and I am of opinion that the constant practice of visitors thus to prove its elastic properties has a tendency to impair its stability ^u."

The *western towers*, close under which the visitor finds himself when on the west front, are Norman to the top of the arcades, and from that point rich late Decorated. The graceful windows in the four sides of the towers, and the parapets above, deserve notice. Each tower was formerly surmounted by a spire of

^u W. A. Nicholson, Transactions of Institute of British Architects. Mr. Nicholson has given an elevation, plan, and section of the arch, in illustration of his paper.

timber and lead. These were removed in 1807; no doubt to the injury of the general outline. The north tower is known as St. Mary's. In it the famous bell "Great Tom" hung before it was recast. The south tower is St. Hugh's.

The descent from the west front may be made by a staircase leading into the south-west wing. In descending one of the series of ancient sculptures already described (§ III.), on the south side of the Norman front, and consequently sheltered by the extended Early English wing, may be inspected. Its subject is the Deluge. It should be observed also, that the large recesses which form so marked a feature in the Norman portion of the west front are continued on the south side, though now concealed by the Early English wing. Some of the capitals must have been covered soon after they were erected; they are as fresh as if newly executed; whereas the corresponding capitals in the west front are much weather-worn.

XXX. Passing out of the cathedral, we proceed to an examination of its *exterior*, beginning on the south side. We first remark the much enriched Norman gable attached to the flank of the south-west, or St. Hugh's, tower. Three such originally surmounted the recesses of the west front. Beyond the south-west chapels the line of the nave is well seen, each bay marked by its flying buttress. An arcade of pointed arches is carried quite along the clerestory wall; and from the parapet above (which is an addition of the Decorated period) project six remarkable canopied

niches, with brackets; an unusual degree of richness and variety is thus gained for the roof-line.

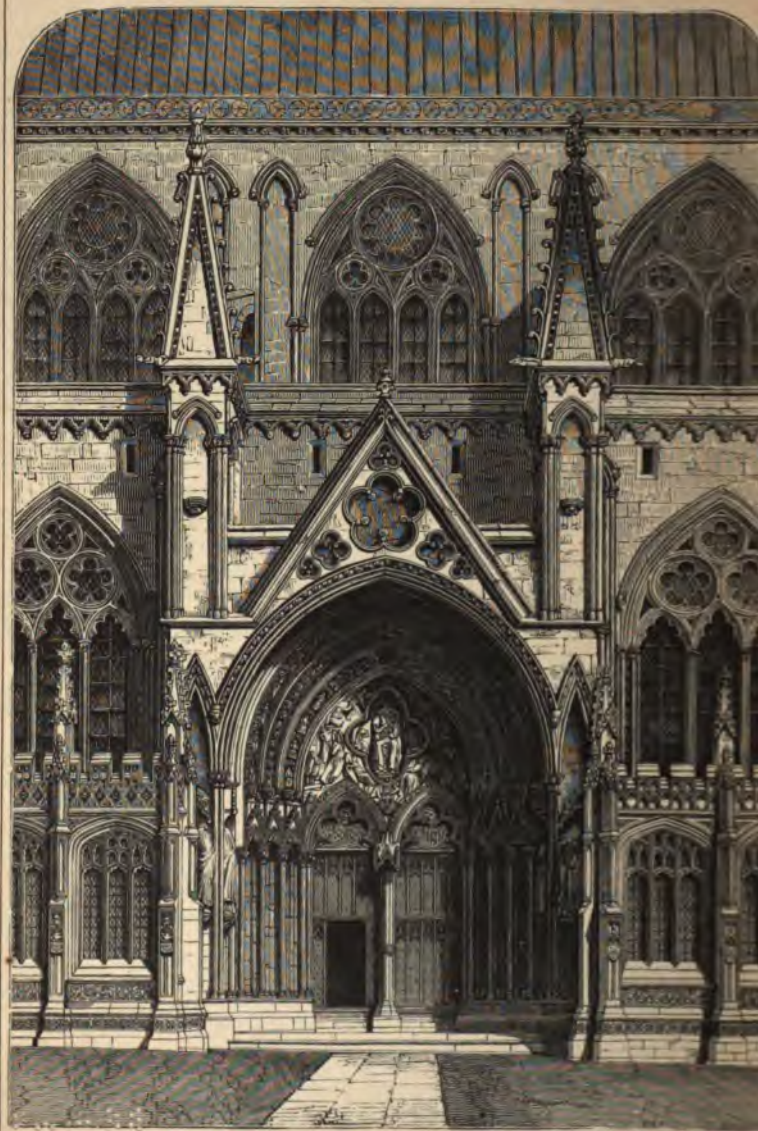
The massive buttresses rising to the top of the transept, capped by later pinnacles, should here be noticed, as well as the Norman gable and arcading on the side of the south-west tower. Observe, also, three grotesque figures in the blank arches of the gable which forms the eastern end of St. Hugh's chapel (in a line with the south-west wing of the west front^{*}).

The *Galilee porch* [Plate XIV.] forms an approach to the cathedral at the south-west corner of the great transept. It is throughout Early English, but is no doubt later than St. Hugh's, or the first Early English portion of the cathedral. It is cruciform in plan. The eastern limb is lined by an arcade of five arches with capitals of leafage. The ribs of the groined roof are covered with dog-tooth moulding. The doorway into the church is divided by a central shaft, and has a diamond-shaped opening in the tympanum. The arches are encrusted with leafage. At the base of the central shaft are three lizard-like monsters with

* One of these is popularly said to represent the "Devil looking over Lincoln." "The devil," says Fuller (Worthies, Lincolnshire), "is the map of malice, and his envy (as God's mercy) is over all his works. It grieves him whatever is given to God, crying out with that flesh-devil, 'Ut quid perditio hæc?' 'What needs this waste?' On which account he is supposed to have overlooked this church, when first finished, with a torve and tetrick countenance, as maligning men's costly devotion, and that they should be so expensive in God's service. But it is suspicious, that some who account themselves saints, behold such fabrics with little better looks."



THE GALILEE PORCH



THE SOUTH-EAST PORCH.

human heads distinguished by long hair and tufted beards: all three look upwards, in the act of climbing the shaft. The transept opens south and north, with three pointed arches, all highly enriched with the dog-tooth. The "Curia vocata le Galilee" is frequently referred to in the archives of the cathedral, the Chapter of which possessed the right of holding a court in the chamber above this porch, now used as the Muni-ment Room of the Dean and Chapter.

XXXI. The Decorated rose-window in the south wall of the great transept should be remarked (§ x.); and, beyond the transept, the Early English buttresses of the choir (St. Hugh's work), with their ornaments of shafts and enriched capitals. Their heavy triangular headings, which rise above the parapet, constitute the first approach to true pinnacles in Early English work. The slender intermediate buttresses, between the windows, are later additions, intended to resist the thrust of the groining. It will be noticed that they conceal one of the shafts of the hood-mould of the windows adjacent to them. [See Plate XVIII.]

Passing the eastern transept, the outline of which with its apsidal chapels deserves notice for the grace of its composition, we reach the *south-east entrance*, or porch of the presbytery. [Plate XV.] A porch in this position is frequent in French cathedrals, but no other example occurs in England. It is formed by a deeply-recessed arch, lined with canopied niches. The doorway is divided by a central shaft, and in the tympanum is the figure of the Saviour in an elongated

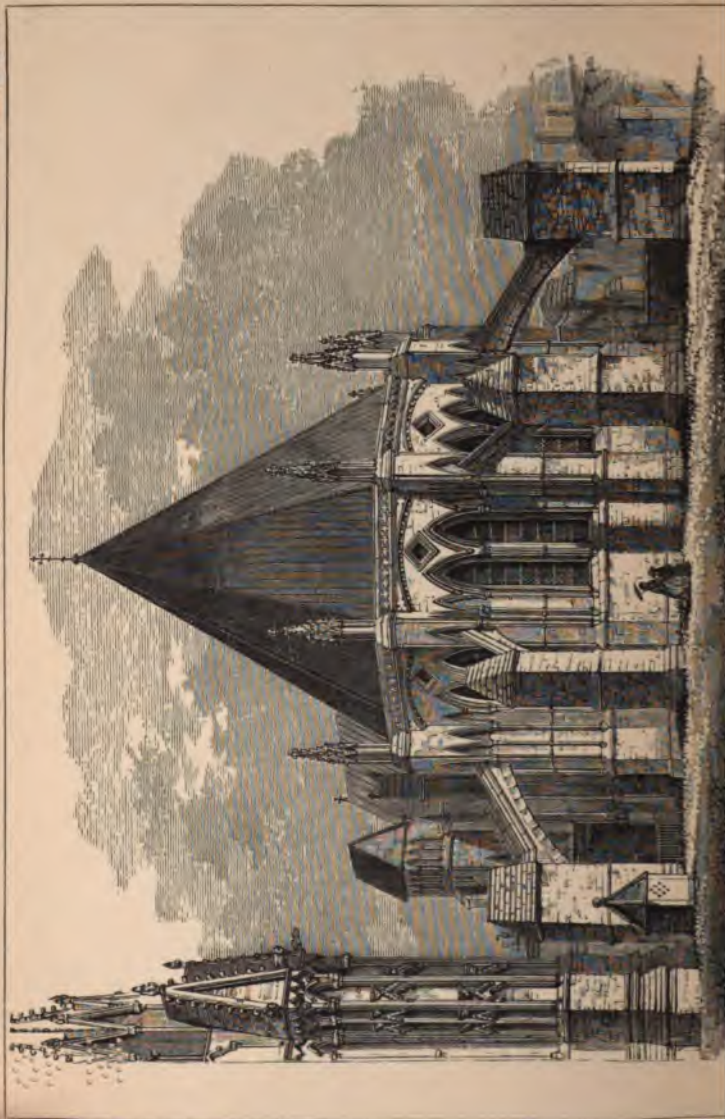
quatrefoil, with kneeling angels on either side. On one side the good are breaking from their tombs, and are carried upward by angels; on the other, goat-like demons are dragging the wicked downward to the mouth of hell, which is seen below the principal figure. The inner and outer door-mouldings have been filled with small figures of saints, many of which remain. They are set in a hollow fretwork of leafage, very gracefully arranged, which may be compared with that surrounding the rose-window of the south transept, within the cathedral. The central shaft has a bracket and a canopy for a figure. Within the arch, and under canopies, are the remains of four figures, which are too completely shattered to be identified. The two outer are barefooted, and probably represented women: the two inner have their feet covered by long robes. Of these statues, and of the composition representing the Last Judgment, Flaxman thought very highly, and has referred to them in one of his lectures. Mr. Cockerell, on the other hand, thinks that, "though of the prosperous period of art, the merit of the 'Judgment' as compared with the angels of the choir, may well be questioned: at all events, it is clearly (as are also the four statues in the porch) by another hand."

On either side of this porch are the rich monumental chapels of Bishop Russell (§ xxii.) and Bishop Longland (§ xxiii.) The buttresses and upper windows of the presbytery should here be remarked,

† C. R. Cockerell, *Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln Cathedral*. (Lincoln Vol. of the Archæol. Institute.)



THE EAST END.







EXTERIOR OF THE CHOIR AISLE. SOUTH SIDE.

and compared with those of the earlier choir and nave. "Against the south-east buttress is a group of the King and Queen, Edward I. and Eleanor, of consummate grandeur and interest. The King bears his shield, and tramples on the enemy; the beloved wife of his youth follows him closely. There is a freedom and energy of style in these figures which are rarely seen in any period. Both have unhappily lost their heads (subsequently restored). In the next pier is the statue of a queen, who may possibly be designed for Edward's second spouse, the French princess Margaret."—*C. R. Cockerell*.

The fine composition of the *eastern end* of the cathedral [Plate XVI.]—with its deep buttresses, its arcades, the noble east window, and the enriched gable above it—is well seen from the greensward above which it rises. Near the north-east buttress is a small building which covers an ancient well; and beyond, again, the eight flying buttresses of the chapter-house at once attract attention. [Plate XVII.] The effect of this building, surmounted by its "high and bold roof," was pronounced "truly grand" by Pugin. The addition of the buttresses may have been rendered necessary to resist the thrust of the original groining.

On the *north* side of the cathedral the principal points to be noticed are the Early English rose-window of the transept (§ x.) and the Norman gable against the north face of the western tower. The buttresses here resemble those on the south side. [Plate XVIII.]

XXXII. The *Episcopal Palace*, originally founded, it seems probable, by Bishop Bloet, and added to by many of his successors, stood on the south side of the cathedral, on the edge of the hill overlooking a wide extent of country. The principal remains are those of the great hall, begun by St. Hugh and completed by Bishop Hugh of Wells; the kitchen, the gateway-tower—restored by Bishop Wordsworth, to supply lecture-rooms for the students of the Chancellor's Theological-school—and some apartments added by Bishop Alnwick. The palace, which was very stately and extensive, was much neglected after the Reformation, and was stripped of its lead and fell into a ruined state during the Civil War. A most careful and excellent account of it, by Mr. E. J. Willson, will be found in the Lincoln volume of the Archaeological Institute. The view of the cathedral from the palace is one of the best to be obtained. A very striking view of the central tower [Plate XIX.] occurs below the Vicars' Court. That from the river below is unusually picturesque [*Frontispiece*], and shews the great length of the building to advantage.

The *Deanery*, on the north side of the cathedral, like the palace, suffered much during the Civil War. The present deanery was built by Mr. Burn of Edinburgh, in 1847; and the only remains of the old buildings still in their original situation are the walls towards Eastgate. An ancient chimney and some fragments of sculpture are preserved on the garden-side of this wall, and in the conservatory.



VIEW FROM BELOW THE VICAR'S COURT.



The *Chancery*, which has been the residence of the Chancellors since 1316, when it was built by Antony Bek, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, is the only one of the residentiary houses which preserves architectural features of much interest. The red-brick front and stone oriel were added by Bishop Russell, circa 1490. Within are the three arches of Bek's work at the end of the dining-hall, demolished in 1714, the centre one leading upstairs to the private chapel, the carved screen of which still exists at the west end, and to the solar, in the wall of which are two squints commanding the chapel-altar. The *Sub-deanery* retains a late but well-proportioned stone oriel, but has been completely modernised, as has been the *Precentory*, beneath which is a Roman hypocaust, discovered in 1739, and figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

The *Vicars' Court* to the south of the cathedral was begun by Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1299, and finished by Bishop Buckingham and Bishop Alnwick, whose escutcheons are to be seen on the walls. The house on the southern side of the Court is an admirable example of the architecture of Edward I.

The *Cantilupe Chantry* house, though much modernised, retains some old features, especially a fine oriel in the north gable, supported by a monstrous corbel. The residentiary house, known as the *Priory* (an obvious misnomer, there never having been any monastic foundation in the close of Lincoln), deserves notice. The tower, built against the Close wall, is

Edwardian, and of the same date is a very fine side board, at the end of what was originally the dining hall. Portions of the crenellated close wall, with its towers, remain in the garden of this house, well as in those of the Chancery and the Chorister House.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE great diocese of Lincoln, which until it was dismembered in the reign of Henry VIII. was by far the most extensive in England*, grew out of the union of three Saxon bishoprics,—those of *Lindsey* or *Sidnacester*, (Stow in Lincolnshire); *Leicester*; and *Dorchester* in Oxfordshire.

After Paulinus (A.D. 627) had converted and baptized Edwin of Northumbria (see YORK, Pt. II.), he proceeded to preach Christianity throughout Lindsey, (Lindisse,) the northern portion of Lincolnshire, of which Lincoln, the Roman *Lindum Colonia*, was the chief place. Here he converted Blaecca, the “præfect” of the city, with all his household; and here he built a church of stone, which Bede calls “opus egregium,” in which he consecrated Honorius to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The existing church of St. Paul (Paulinus), a little north-west of the cathedral, and on higher ground, is said to occupy the site of this, the first resting-place of the faith in Lincoln. It stands not far from a blackened Roman arch, one of the

* From the Conquest to the middle of the sixteenth century it stretched from the Thames to the Humber, embracing the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, Leicester, Rutland, and Lincoln. In 1541 the see of Peterborough, presiding over Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire, and in 1542 that of Oxford, for the whole of that county, were founded by Henry VIII. Cambridgeshire had been previously taken out of it in 1109, to form the diocese of Ely.

ancient gates of the city, which twelve hundred years ago must have flung its shadow on the figure of the Christian Apostle,—“*vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu*”^b.”

[A.D. 678—958. SEE OF LINDSEY.] The province of Lindsey, like the rest of Lincolnshire, was either at this time dependent on Mercia, or soon afterwards became so. After the establishment of the Mercian bishopric at Lichfield (see that Cathedral) in the year 656, Lindsey formed a part of the wide district presided over by that see; until, in 678, Egfrid of Northumbria defeated the Mercian King Wulfere, and making good his power over Lindsey, erected it into a separate diocese, the seat of which he fixed at *Sidnacester*, now represented in all probability by Stow, a village between Lincoln and Gainsborough, famous for its fine Norman church. A succession of bishops of Lindsey (the “*Lindisfarorum provincia*” of Bede) can be traced from EADHED, who was consecrated to the see in 678, to BERHTRED, whose last signature occurs in 869. For nearly a century from this date the see seems to have remained unfilled, owing no doubt to the ravages of the Northmen, who in this interval established themselves in Mercia and Northumbria. In 953 occurs the signature of LEOFWIN as bishop of Lindsey. Before 958 he had removed the see to Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, probably for greater security. One later bishop of Lindsey is, however, recorded,—SIGEFERTH, whose signatures occur between the years 997—1004.

[A.D. 680—869. SEE OF LEICESTER.] Eadhed was consecrated to the see of Lindsey (or Sidnacester) by Archbishop Theodorus, one of whose main objects was to increase the number of bishoprics in the different Saxon kingdoms. (See CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.) It was probably at his suggestion, and no doubt with his co-operation, that

^b Bede, H. E., lib. ii. c. xvi.

the see was established by Egfrid after his conquest of Lindsey in 678. Two years later (680) Theodorus divided the great Mercian bishopric, and erected a new see at *Leicester*, to which he consecrated CUTHWIN. After Cuthwin's death, in 691, the see of Leicester was administered by the famous Wilfrid of York, until the year 705, when it was re-united to the original Mercian see of Lichfield. So it continued until 737, in which year the see of Leicester again appears, with TORTHHELM as its bishop. From this time until the year 869, there is a regular succession of bishops of Leicester, the last of whom was CEOLRED, (840—869). At his death the see was removed to *Dorchester*, in Oxfordshire. The Northmen had already commenced their attacks on Mercia, in which they soon made good their settlements, and Leicester became one of the five great Danish burghs. As in East Anglia (see *NORWICH CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.), it is probable that the Mercian Danes were, as the Saxon Chronicle represents them, "heathen men," although they may have embraced a nominal Christianity. At all events, no bishop appears within the bounds of the Danelagh.

[A.D. 870—1067. SEE OF DORCHESTER.] Dorchester, to which place the see of Leicester was removed, had been (A.D. 634—676) the seat of the West Saxon bishopric, until Headda (676—705) removed it to Winchester, as had been originally intended. (See *WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.) The district in which Dorchester is situated seems about this time to have passed under the control of Mercia, and it was probably within the bounds of that kingdom when the see of Leicester was removed to it, about the year 870. But the ravages of the Northmen soon broke up the ancient limits, and ALHEARD, the first bishop of Dorchester, who died of the plague in 897, is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle as one of King Alfred's "most excellent thanes." From Alheard to WULFWY, who died

* *Sax. Chron.*, ad ann. 897.

in 1067, we have the names (and little besides) of eleven bishops of Dorchester. Of these, the fourth from Alheard is LEOFWIN, who, a little before 958, removed the see of Lindsey to Dorchester. Remigius, the successor of Wulfwy, removed the chief place of the three sees which had thus become united, to *Lincoln*.

SEE OF LINCOLN. [A.D. 1067—1092.] REMIGIUS, or Rémi, a Benedictine of Fécamp, had accompanied the Conqueror on his expedition, to which he is said to have contributed a ship and twenty armed men. According to Giraldus he was the leader (*decurio*) of the ten knights sent as the contingent of the Abbot of Fécamp. A leaden plate preserved in the Chapter Library at Lincoln, seems to prove that Remigius was related to the powerful house of Deincourt, and thus allied to the Conqueror⁴, who promised him an English bishopric if the expedition should be successful. On the death of Wulfwy in 1067 Remigius was accordingly consecrated to the see of Dorchester.

The Norman bishop found his vast diocese in a state of utter disorganization; and at once "perambulated the whole of it, so that by his sermons and instructions he wrought a happy reformation in every part." The lofty mind and excellent disposition (*beatissimum ingenium*) of Remigius are contrasted by William of Malmesbury with his dwarfish stature:—"Ipse pro exiguitate corporis pene portentum hominis videbatur; luctabatur excellere et foris eminere animus, eratque 'gratior exiguo veniens e corpore virtus.'" "Statura parvus, sed corde magnus," says Henry of Huntingdon, "colore fuscus sed operibus venustus." In the year 1071 he accompanied Archbishop Lanfranc and

⁴ The inscription runs as follows (the letters in italics are supplied conjecturally):—"Hic jacet Willm Filius Walteri Alencuriensis consanguinei Remigii Episcopi Lincolnensis qui hanc ecclesiam fecit. Prefatus Willm regia stirpe progenitus dum in curia regis Willi Filii Magni regis Willi qui Angliam conquistaivit aleretur II. Kal. Novembris obiit."

Thomas, Archbishop of York, to Rome, where the Pope, Alexander II., deposed from their sees both Archbishop Thomas and Remigius, the former as being the son of a priest, the latter on account of the bargain he had made with the Conqueror. Both were restored, however, by the interest of Lanfranc.

Remigius, like most of the Norman bishops, had a passion for building. The Council of London, in 1075, ordered the removal of episcopal sees from "vills" to cities; but it was before the promulgation of this decree that the see of Dorchester was removed to Lincoln—for the charter of the Conqueror confirming the change, dated that year, speaks of it as already made. Lincoln was at the extreme end of the diocese; but the site was at least not more inconvenient than that of Dorchester; and the strength of the position—on high ground, and close under the walls of the great royal fortress then in the course of erection—was probably a main consideration here, as it was in fixing the sites of the other sees removed at this time. Accordingly, Remigius, in the words of Henry of Huntingdon, himself Archdeacon of Lincoln, "built in a place strong and fair, a strong and fair church to the Virgin of virgins; which was both pleasant to God's servants, and, as the time required, invincible to their enemies."

The cathedral thus built by Remigius occupied the south-east quarter of the original Roman city, the castle taking up the south-west quarter. The exact site, "on the brow of the hill beyond the river Witham, had," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "been presignified by certain visions, miracles, signs, and wonders." Remigius lived to complete it, "after the manner of the church of Rouen, which he had set before him as his pattern in all things;" and placed twenty-one canons in it. He died, however, four

* Giraldus.

day before that fixed for the consecration (May 8, 1092); and was buried in the new church, before the altar of the Holy Cross. He was never canonized; but numerous miracles were said to have taken place at his tomb; and his episcopal ring dipped in water was held to produce an excellent febrifuge.

All that remains of the church of Remigius is a portion of the west front (Pt. I. § III.) and the portion of the apse below the stalls. The cathedral of Rouen, which Remigius copied, was destroyed by fire in 1200 *.

[A.D. 1094—1123.] ROBERT BLOET, after the see had been vacant two years, was consecrated by Archbishop Anselm and seven other bishops, at Hastings—the day after Battle Abbey was consecrated (Feb. 11). Bishop Robert was Chancellor to William Rufus, and his appointment to the see of Lincoln was made after that King's illness at Gloucester, when "he promised many promises to God, to lead his own life righteously, and never more for money again to sell God's churches*." The nomination was not confirmed by the King, who had secretly stirred up Thomas Archbishop of York, who claimed Lincoln as belonging to his province, to protest against his consecration, until he had received a large bribe from the bishop expectant. The new cathedral was consecrated during Bishop Robert's episcopate; and he removed (against their will) the monks from Stow, in Lincolnshire, to Eynsham, a newly restored monastery in Oxfordshire, in order to appropriate the manor of Stow for the use of the bishops of Lincoln,

* For a very interesting conjectural "restoration" of the church built by Remigius, see a paper by the Rev. G. A. Poole, in the Transactions of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society. "Where, says Mr. Poole, "it may be presumed that Rouen retains its original *dimensions* (for as to the actual *fabric*, not a stone which Remigius beheld remains on another) it agrees remarkably with the Lincoln which we have recovered."

* Sax. Chron.

Bishop Robert died suddenly in the Park at Woodstock, Jan. 10, 1123. "It befell," says the Saxon Chronicle, "on a Wednesday that the King (Henry I.) was riding in his deer-fold, and the Bishop Roger of Salisbury on one side of him, and the Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln on the other side of him; and they were there riding and talking. Then the Bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the King, 'Lord King, I am dying!' And the King alighted from his horse, and lifted him betwixt his arms, and caused him to be borne to his inn; and he was then forthwith dead; and he was conveyed to Lincoln with great worship, and buried before St. Mary's altar." Bishop Robert enjoyed no good reputation in his own time; and Brompton and Knighton assert that the "church keepers" (at Lincoln) "were sore annoyed (they say) with his sowle and other walking spretes till that place was purged by prayers."

[A.D. 1123—1148.] ALEXANDER, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Chief Justice, was nephew of Roger, the powerful Bishop of Salisbury (see that Cathedral, Pt. II.), by whose influence he was raised to the episcopate. As in the case of his brother Nigel, Bishop of Ely (see ELY, Pt. II.), Alexander's fortunes were involved in those of his uncle Bishop Roger; and with him he was seized and imprisoned during the Council of Oxford, 1139. On this occasion Bishop Alexander was compelled to resign to the King his two castles of Sleaford and Newark, which he had himself built. He had built another castle at Banbury, and four monasteries, at Dorchester, Haverholme, Thame, and Louth Park. Alexander was far more of the secular potentate than of the bishop. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* says of him, "he was called a bishop, but he was a man of vast pomp, and great boldness and audacity, neglecting the pure and simple way of life belonging to the Christian religion, he gave himself up to military affairs and secular pomp, shewing whenever he appeared at Court

so vast a band of followers that all men marvelled." The testimony of Henry of Huntingdon is of the same tenour: "He was brought up in the greatest luxury by his uncle, the Bishop of Salisbury, and hence he acquired a spirit too high to be good for his people. Desirous to excel other nobles in the magnificence of his gifts and the splendour of his works, when his own resources did not suffice for this, he was in the habit of plucking most eagerly the goods of his people to make his own smaller resources equal to their greater ones. But yet he could not succeed in this, inasmuch as he was ever squandering more and more. Yet a wise man he was, and liberal to such a degree that he was called by the Court of Rome 'the magnificent.'" A great fire occurred at Lincoln in June 1123, shortly before Alexander's consecration, which burnt nearly the whole of the city; and in 1141 occurred a second fire, which did great mischief to the cathedral, and destroyed the whole of the wooden roofs. Bishop Alexander vaulted it with stone, and so repaired and adorned it, according to Henry of Huntingdon, that it was "more beautiful than before." The doorways in the west front are assigned with great probability, to this bishop (Pt. I. § III.); who was buried in his own cathedral.

[A.D. 1148—1167.] ROBERT DE CHESNEY, Archdeacon of Leicester, by birth an Englishman. His name "de Querceto," says Henry of Huntingdon, "is from the oak copse." This bishop began the episcopal palace at Lincoln, on the site of the old bishop's residence, "ubi sitæ fuerant," Giraldus, vii. 34, "at a great price;" and pledged the ornaments of his church in order to do so, to "Aaron the Jew" in the sum of £300. He was a quiet and unambitious man, described by de Diceto as a "man of great simplicity and humility," and by Gervase of Canterbury as "a simple man but not over wise." Giraldus Cambrensis calls him "a generous man, but a dilapidator of the property of the see," alienating estates to give his nieces

marriage-portions. He endured a long struggle with the Abbot of St. Alban's, then within the limits of his diocese, which ended in the establishment of the independence of the abbey from diocesan supervision, the bishop receiving in exchange the manor of Tynghurst. St. Alban's thus became the first of the mitred abbeys.

The death of Bishop ROBERT occurred in the height of the controversy between the King and Archbishop Becket; and the see of Lincoln remained vacant nearly seventeen years; a certain monk of Thame, one of the many prophets of the time, predicting that it would never be filled again. In the year 1173, however, GEOFFRY PLANTAGENET, natural son of Henry II., under twenty-one years of age, only in deacon's orders, was appointed to the see, under a dispensation from the Pope, Alexander III., on account of his being under age. He paid off the debt to Aaron the Jew, incurred by his predecessor, and, among other costly gifts, bestowed on the cathedral two magnificent bells, "*campanas egregias atque sonoras.*" But Geoffry was never consecrated although for seven years he retained the temporalities; and he resigned Lincoln^b before

[A.D. 1183—1184.] When WALTER OF COUTANCES, Archdeacon of Oxford, was appointed by the King. After seventeen years' cessation, mass was sung at the high altar of the cathedral by a bishop of Lincoln. The year afterwards he was translated to Rouen.

From 1184—1186 the see was again vacant. In the year 1185 occurred that great earthquake "such as there had not been in England since the beginning of the world," says Hoveden, which shattered the cathedral of Lincoln and "split it in two from top to bottom."^c

^b In 1191 he was consecrated Archbishop of York.

^c "*Terræ motus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petræ enim scissæ sunt, domus lapideæ ceciderunt, ecclesia Lincoln-*

[A.D. 1186—1200.] HUGH OF AVALON, OR OF BURGUNDY; best known as ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN, the founder of the existing cathedral, which was far advanced during his lifetime, and on which he laboured with his own hands. There were many lives of St. Hugh, of which the longest and most important, written by a Benedictine monk who was the Bishop's chaplain and constant associate, has been published in the Master of the Rolls' series, under the editorship of the late Prebendary Dimock. A very curious and interesting metrical life, written to all appearance immediately upon the canonization of Hugh (A.D. 1220), was previously edited by him (Lincoln, 1860), whose brief sketch of St. Hugh's life is here given¹.

"St. Hugh was born about the year 1140, of a knightly Burgundian family, which took its name from Avalon, a place about three miles distant from Grenoble. At an early age he lost his mother, and soon afterwards entered a priory of Regular Canons established in the neighbourhood of his father's castle. To this step he was led by the precepts and example of his widowed father; who at the same time retired from the world, and became an inmate of the same priory. At this time Hugh was a mere child; according to the best authority not quite eight, but according to others, ten years old.

"At the age of eighteen he was ordained deacon. And some time afterwards, probably when about twenty-four years old, was made prior of a neighbouring cell, a dependency of his convent. Within two or three years, it would seem, he deserted his post, and betook himself to

iensis metropolitana scissa est a summo deorsum. Contigit enim terræ motus iste in crastino diei dominicæ in ramis palmarum viz. xvii. Kal. Maii."—*Hoveden*, ad ann. 1185.

¹ An admirable biography of St. Hugh has recently been published by Canon Perry (Murray, 1879), which deserves careful perusal. It includes lives of St. Hugh's predecessors in the see.

the Great Chartreuse, near Grenoble, then in the zenith of its fame, for the rigid austerity of its rules, and the earnest piety of its members.

"After ten years spent in the most exemplary devotion to his duties as a Carthusian monk, he was advanced to the office of procurator, a post second only to that of the prior of the house. This post he can have held but a year or two. Had he held it a short time longer, he would have succeeded, with little doubt, to the priory of the Great Chartreuse, then one of the proudest pre-eminences in the religious world. Such, however, was not to be his destiny. Henry the Second of England was founding a Carthusian convent at Witham, in Somersetshire, the first of the Order in this country. Difficulties and disorders obstructed the royal purpose. At length, hearing of the fame of Hugh, and assured certainly that he was the man of all others who would succeed in carrying his designs into full and good effect, Henry managed, with difficulty, to procure his removal for this purpose into England. This was probably in A.D. 1175 or 1176.

"Hugh did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. All difficulties soon vanished, upon his taking the rule of Witham . . . of which establishment, which soon became the admiration of all . . . he was prior about ten years. He became an especial favourite of Henry II. In the year 1186, mainly through the royal influence, and that of Archbishop Baldwin, of Canterbury, he was made Bishop of Lincoln.

"Sorely had he striven against this removal from the religious calm of his beloved Carthusian cell to so different a sphere of action. But, once compelled to acquiesce, he brought all his determined earnestness and untiring energy to the duties of his new station. It may be safely said that a more zealous and indefatigable prelate than was Bishop Hugh of Lincoln seldom, if ever, presided over a see of our own or any other Christian land

He was Bishop of Lincoln for little more than fourteen years, dying in the autumn of A.D. 1200*."

Several remarkable anecdotes, principally from the prose lives, illustrating the character of St. Hugh,—his "resolute unbending firmness of purpose in what he believed to be right," his "cool and excellent judgment," his "singular and exquisite tact," and his mixture of cheerfulness with asceticism,—will be found in Mr. Dimock's Introduction. His great work at Lincoln was the rebuilding of his cathedral; which, as we have seen, had been ruined by an earthquake the year before his consecration. The remarkable description of this work, contained in the "Metrical Life," will be found in Part III.

St. Hugh was canonized by the Pope, Honorius III., in 1220; and in 1280 his body was translated, with great ceremony, into the newly-built eastern part of the cathedral—the so-called "Angel-choir." This translation took place at the cost of Thomas Bek, who on the same day was consecrated to the see of St. David's. (See *post*, Bp. OLIVER SUTTON.) Numerous miracles were said to be worked at his shrine. "Up to the time of the Reformation, no such saint in the English calendar, with one exception, had his fame more widely spread, or received more earnest reverence. The one exception is, of course, St. Thomas Becket; with whom, however, Hugh of Lincoln has no cause to fear comparison. With fully as stern a resolution to defend the rights of the Church against the encroachments of the State, in many other points the character of Hugh was a far finer one, and his consistent life more saint-like, than can ever be truly predicated of Becket. . . . So long as his cathedral stands, in its grand beauty, the name of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln cannot altogether be forgotten. . . . He only wants now to be rightly known, in order to be more rightly appreciated. We can still, I

* J. F. Dimock, *Introd.*, i.-iii.

hope, admire the upright, honest, fearless man; we can still revere the earnest, holy, Christian bishop¹."

The emblem which generally accompanies representations of St. Hugh is his pet swan, which is said to have taken up its abode at Stow, the episcopal manor-house, on the day of the Bishop's installation at Lincoln. It formed an especial attachment to St. Hugh; and displayed extreme grief on his last visit to Stow, before going to London, where he died. "*Hæc avis*," says the "*Metrical Life*:"—

"————— in vita candens, in funere cantans,
Sancti pontificis vitam mortemque figurat:
Candens dum vivit, notat hunc vixisse pudicum,
Cantans dum moritur, notat hunc decedere tutum."

Bishop Hugh died in London, and was brought to Lincoln for interment, the journey taking up six days. King John and his nobles, then holding a council in the city, assisted in conveying the bier into the cathedral. Three archbishops, nine bishops, "*populus abbatum, turba priorum*," were also present.

[A.D. 1203—1206.] WILLIAM OF BLOIS. After the death of St. Hugh there was for some time a dispute between the King and the Chapter as to the right of election to the vacant see. William of Blois, Prebendary and Precentor of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter in 1201; but was not consecrated until 1203.

From 1206, in which year William of Blois died, to 1209, the see was again vacant. In that year

[A.D. 1209—1235.] HUGH OF WELLS, of which cathedral he had been Archdeacon, and Canon of Lincoln, was appointed. The interdict pronounced by Pope Innocent was still in force; and Hugh was ordered by King John to proceed for consecration to the Archbishop of Rouen, rather than to Stephen Langton, the exiled Archbishop of

¹ Dimock, *Introd.*, xii. xiii.

Canterbury. The bishop elect, however, found Archbishop Stephen at Melun, and was there consecrated by him: John accordingly seized the temporalities of Lincoln, which he retained until after his submission to Pandulf, in 1213.

Little is recorded of Bishop Hugh's long episcopate. It is probable that the cathedral commenced by St. Hugh was far advanced, if not completed, by him; as the great hall of the episcopal palace certainly was. In 1220, after an examination by Archbishop Stephen Langton, and John, Abbot of Fountains, of the miracles said to have been performed at the tomb of St. Hugh of Avalon, his canonization was solemnly decreed by the Pope, Honorius III.

Bishop Hugh of Wells was buried in his own cathedral, at Lincoln.

[A.D. 1235—1253.] ROBERT GROSTËTE; a worthy successor of St. Hugh, and one of the most remarkable men of the thirteenth century.

“Robert Grostête was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the ‘Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.’ He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, and Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he began to act with holy rigour unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavoured to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New Year's day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity; . . . but those immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority belonged

justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate. . . . The dean and chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their papal exemptions: the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage; the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King's justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital offences. His allies were the new Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy. He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature, or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself^m."

The Pope whom Robert Grosstete thus resisted was Innocent IV.,—the last opponent of the great Emperor, Frederick II.,—than whom no Roman pontiff carried the papal claims farther. "Grosstete received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Louvain. Grosstete was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope. His answer was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: 'I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles. and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. . . . You cannot in

^m Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. pp. 468, 469.

your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my assistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church*."

The passion of Innocent, on receiving this letter, is said to have been extreme; but he listened at last to the moderate counsels of his cardinals, and "acknowledged almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by difficulties of the times, and the irresistible urgency of partisans, to measures which he did not altogether regret to prove."

"On Grostête's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in the church at Lincoln. But it was said, likewise, that the exorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grosseteste himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes before the Pope. 'Is it thou, Sinibald, thou miserable Pope who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the church of Lincoln? . . . Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be despised in thy turn!' The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed; his arms were defeated; he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV."

Bishop Robert was the correspondent and friend of Adam Marsh (de Marisco), the learned Franciscan friar, whose letters have been printed in the *Monumenta Francicana*, edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer; and was, according to Matthew Paris, the special adviser and confessor of the great Earl Simon de Montfort. He died, however, before the Barons' War. His character can only fairly

* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. pp. 468, 469. * 1d

understood in connection with the history of his time,—when England lay more completely than ever, before, or since, under the control of the Pope. Matthew Paris, little as he admired him while living, was not sparing of panegyric after his death. “Fuit Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus, Prælatorum correptor, Monachorum corrector, Presbyterorum director, Clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, Scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor. In mensa refectionis corporalis dapsilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis: in mensa vero spirituali devotus, lachrymosus et contritus: in officio Pontificali sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis.”

Unlike St. Hugh, or his contemporary, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Grosstête was never solemnly canonized. Like Waltheof, who was interred at Crowland, however, and like Simon de Montfort, Bishop Robert was canonized by the voice of the English people. His tomb, in the south-east transept of his cathedral, was especially revered; and, as direct proof of his sanctity, an oil was said to distil from it. No direct record exists of his works in the cathedral; but the stone lattice-work, which, on good grounds, is believed to mark his building, is seen on the west front, the central tower, and other parts of the fabric. There was a tradition that the fragments of a magic head, constructed by Bishop Robert, were preserved in the vaulting:—

“Fabricat ære caput . . .
Dum caput erigitur corrui ima petens.
Scinditur in cineres . . .
Dicunt vulgares, quod adhuc Lincolnia mater
In volta capitis fragmina servat ea.”

Robert Grosstête died at Buckden, Oct. 10, 1253. He

^p M. Paris, p. 754 (ed. Watts).

^q Ric. Mon. Bardeniensis, de Vita R. Grossthead—Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 326.

was buried at Lincoln, Oct. 13, the Archbishop Boniface officiating, assisted by the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, in the presence of "a countless multitude of clergy and people, who flocked from all quarters to do honour to one who, in maintaining the rights of the Church and realm of England, had bearded the King upon his throne, and contemned even the maledictions of the Pope." His letters have been edited, with a most valuable Introduction, by H. R. Luard (Longmans, 1861).*

[A.D. 1254—1258.] HENRY LEXINGTON, Treasurer of Salisbury 1245, Dean of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter in opposition to the wishes of the King, who had named Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford. The most remarkable event of his episcopate was the persecution of the Jews of Lincoln on account of the death of "Little St. Hugh," or St. Hugh the Less,—a child who was found dead in a well, and who was said to have been sacrificed at the Passover, in contempt of our Lord, by the Jews. A process was commenced against the Jews by the authorities and clergy of Lincoln; and thirty-two of them were in consequence put to death: some of whom were tied to the feet of wild horses, dragged out of the city till they were dead, and then hanged on gibbets at the common place of execution. A long account of the whole proceeding will be found in Matthew Paris. The ballad of "St. Hugh of Lincoln" records the popular version of it; and Chaucer thus alludes to it at the end of the "Prioress' Tale:"—

"O younge Hew of Lincolne slain also,
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
For it n'is but a litel while ago,
Pray eke for us, we sinful folk unstable,
That of his mercie God so merciable
On us His grete mercie multiplie,
For reverence of His Mother Marie."

* Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. iii. p. 276.

* See also "The Life and Times of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln," by Canon Perry, published by the S.P.C.K., 1871.

Eighteen Jews had been put to death at Norwich twenty years before, on a similar accusation. (See *NORWICH CATHEDRAL*, Pt. II.) The shrine of St. Hugh has been noticed, Pt. I. § XXIV. It was opened in 1790, when the skeleton of a child was found in the coffin.

[A.D. 1258—1279.] *RICHARD OF GRAVESEND*, Dean of Lincoln 1254. With the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, he adhered to the party of the Barons; and, like those Bishops, was excommunicated by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Ottoboni.

[A.D. 1280—1299.] *OLIVER SUTTON*, Dean of Lincoln 1275. During his episcopate the cloister, to which he contributed fifty marks, was built; the cathedral precinct was enclosed with a wall, "because of the homicides and other atrocities perpetrated by thieves and malefactors;" and houses for the Vicars Choral were built at the Bishop's own expense. But the great event of Bishop Oliver's episcopate was the translation of the body of St. Hugh, which, on the octave of St. Michael, 1280, was solemnly deposited within its shrine in the new presbytery, or "Angel-choir." Edward the First and his Queen; Edmund "the King's brother," and the Queen of Navarre, his wife; the Archbishops of Canterbury (John Peckham) and Edessa¹; many bishops, and 230 knights, were present. Two conduits outside the gate of the Bishop's manor ran with wine. The whole cost of the translation was defrayed by Thomas Bek, who on the same day was consecrated to the bishopric of St. David's. He was brother of Antony, the powerful Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, who at his own consecration, three years and a-half afterwards, translated the remains of St. William of York at his own expense.

[A.D. 1300—1320.] *JOHN OF DALDERBY*, Chancellor of Lincoln. The upper part of the central tower dates from his

¹ The Crusaders had identified Edessa with Rages in Media. This Archbishop was an Englishman (Rishanger's Chron., p. 54). His see had been for many years in the hands of the infidels.

episcopate. He had been prebendary of St. David's, and in 1293 became Chancellor of Lincoln. Letters of indulgence exist, dated March 9, 1307, granting a relaxation of forty days, "*de injunctâ sibi penitentiâ*," to any one who should assist in building the tower. In 1310 the bowels of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby, were interred in the cathedral. During his episcopate (1308) he was appointed by the Pope one of the Commissioners to hear and try the charges against the unhappy Knights Templars. The accused from many of the Midland Counties were brought together at Lincoln, and confined in the Clasket gate. The process was heard in the chapter-house. Being satisfied in his own mind that there was "no case" against the Templars, Dalderby withdrew from the inquiry, which resulted in the perpetual imprisonment of those who refused to confess, in certain monasteries, their property being confiscated. Fourpence a day was allowed for their maintenance. (Pt. I. § XXI.) Little is recorded of the personal life of Bishop Dalderby, who died at Stow in 1320, and was buried in the south transept, where his remains were afterwards placed in a silver shrine. He left behind him a reputation for singular piety and uprightness. "*Tanquam sanctus colebatur*," says Godwin; and numerous attempts were made, but in vain, to procure his canonization during the subsequent episcopate of Bishop Burghersh. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb.

Anthony Bek, Chancellor of Lincoln, was elected by the Chapter on Bishop Dalderby's death. His election was, however, annulled by the Pope, who appointed

[A.D. 1320—1340.] HENRY BURGHersh, Treasurer 1327, and Chancellor of England 1328; grandson of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, the great Baron of Leeds Castle, by whose influence he obtained his bishopric, when only in his thirtieth year. He was the son of Sir Robert of Burghersh, and brother of Bartholmew, Lord Burghersh. In 1329 he

accompanied Edward III. to France, and was frequently employed by him in diplomatic services. Not long before his death, which occurred at Ghent, Bishop Burghersh had enclosed a park or deer chase, at Tinghurst, and in order to do so effectually had seized on certain lands held by some of his poorer neighbours. Their imprecations on the Bishop were loud and deep; and Walsingham asserts that after his death he appeared to one of his friends, dressed in a short coat of Lincoln green, with a horn slung round his neck, and carrying a bow and arrows. As a punishment for his wrongs against the poor, he declared that he had been made keeper of the chase at Tinghurst; and that he was condemned to wander about until the fences should be again thrown down and the lands restored to their former owners. The Canons of Lincoln accordingly, having been duly informed of the Bishop's distress, proceeded to relieve him in the way he had pointed out. Bishop Burghersh's tomb remains at the end of the retro-choir. (Pt. I. § XVIII.)

[A.D. 1342—1347.] THOMAS BEK, nephew of the great Bishop of Durham, and brother of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Norwich.

[A.D. 1347—1362.] JOHN GYNWELL, Prebendary of Lincoln, Salisbury, and York; Archdeacon of Northampton 1346. He was engaged in vexatious controversies with Archbishop Islip with regard to metropolitical visitation, and his power over the University of Oxford. In both the Archbishop proved victorious. The exemption from visitation, which Gynwell had purchased at an enormous cost from Clement VI., was nullified, and he was declared, by the papal authorities, obliged to confirm the Chancellor of the University, duly appointed, at the first requirement.

[A.D. 1363—1398.] JOHN BOKYNGHAM, Archdeacon of Northampton, Dean of Lichfield, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. During his episcopate the head of St. Hugh, in its golden reliquary, was stolen from the cathedral. The thieves,

after stripping away the gold and jewels, flung the head into a field; where, says Knighton, it was watched by a crow until recovered by the confession of the thieves themselves, and brought back to Lincoln*. Bishop Bokyngham was, much against his will, translated to Lichfield by the Pope, in 1398. He refused, however, to accept a bishopric the revenues of which were so much less than those of Lincoln, and retired to Canterbury, where he died a monk.

John of Welbourn was treasurer of Lincoln from 1350 to 1380, and was a great benefactor to the cathedral. Among others of his benefactions enumerated in a volume preserved in the Chapter Record-room are,—“*Qui eciam ut Custos Sancti Hugonis fecit reparari ii. costas superiores feretri ejusdem, cum uno tabernaculo et i. ymagine Sancti Pauli stantis in eodem ex parte boriali, cum plato de auro puro, quas fuerant pro antea depictæ; et eciam canopeum novum de ligno pro eodem. Qui eciam, post furacionem et spoliacionem capitis Sancti Hugonis, de novo fecit cum auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornari et reparari. Qui eciam existens magister fabricæ, fuit principalis causa movens de factura duarum voltarum campanilium in fine occidentali monasterii, et eciam voltæ altioris campanilis. Ac eciam fecit fieri Reges in fine occidentali predicta; ac eciam facturam horilogii quod vocatur Clok. Et inceptor et consulator inceptiois facturæ stallorum novorum in ecclesia cathedrali Lincoln.*”

[A.D. 1398, translated to Winchester 1405.] HENRY BEAUFORT, son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, who was buried at Lincoln during his episcopate. Her tomb remains in the cathedral. (Pt. I. § xv.) For a long notice of Cardinal Beaufort, whose death-bed has been so wonderfully and so unfairly painted by Shakespeare, see WINCHES-

* Knighton, ap. Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*. The same chronicler asserts that many similar robberies of shrines and relics took place about this time.

TER CATHEDRAL, Part II. He died in 1447, and was buried at Winchester, where his superb chantry still remains.

[A.D. 1405—1419.] PHILIP OF REPINGDON (i.e. Repton, in Derbyshire, where he was born) was for some time before his elevation to the episcopate a vigorous Wickliffite, and in 1382 preached a violent sermon in defence of Wickliffe's doctrines before the archiepiscopal commissary, Dr. Stokes, at St. Frideswide's. He was suspended by the University, on which he appealed to John of Gaunt and Archbishop Courtenay. The latter appointed Repingdon and his companions a hearing before a court of inquiry at the Black Friars, London. Their answers were pronounced heretical, but ulterior proceedings were stopped by recantation at Paul's Cross. Honours were then poured thick upon him. He became Abbot of Leicester (1400), and Chancellor of Oxford (1400). Pope Innocent VII. intruded him into the see of Lincoln; and in 1408 Gregory XII. made him a cardinal. Having, by accepting the cardinalate, transgressed the law, and incurred the penalties of a *præmunire*, Repingdon resigned his bishopric, Oct. 14, 1419. He died in obscurity, about the year 1434, and was interred in Lincoln Cathedral, near the grave of his great predecessor Robert Grostête.

[A.D. 1420—1431.] RICHARD FLEMING, Canon of York, was nominated by the Pope (and consecrated at Florence) on the resignation of Repingdon. In 1426 Bishop Fleming was translated by Papal authority to the vacant see of York; but his translation was resisted by Henry V., who refused to restore the temporalities. Bishop Fleming was accordingly compelled to be translated back to Lincoln; as bishop of which see he had executed the sentence of the Council of Constance in 1425, which ordered the body of Wickliffe to be exhumed, as that of a heretic, the bones to be burnt, and the ashes thrown into the nearest river. (The church of Lutterworth, in which Wickliffe had been buried, was in the diocese of Lincoln.) Bishop Fleming

was buried in the chapel erected by himself on the north side of the choir. (Pt. I. § XVIII.) He was the founder (1430) of Lincoln College, Oxford; the buildings of which were further advanced by Thomas Beckington (1443—1464), Bishop of Bath and Wells, and completed by Thomas Scott, or Rotherham, translated (1480) to the see of York from Lincoln (see *post*).

[A.D. 1431—1436.] WILLIAM GRAY, of Baliol College, Oxford, Dean of York, Bishop of London, translated to Lincoln from London (see LONDON).

[A.D. 1436—1349.] WILLIAM ALNWICK, Confessor to Henry VI., was translated to Lincoln from Norwich. At Norwich Bishop Alnwick almost rebuilt the west front of his cathedral (see NORWICH); and the west windows at Lincoln are erroneously said to be his work. (Pt. I. § III.) He was a great benefactor to the Philosophy Schools at Cambridge.

[A.D. 1450, died the same year.] MARMADUKE LUMLEY, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Northumberland, Precentor of Lincoln (1424), translated by papal provision from Carlisle, of which see he had been bishop for twenty years. He gave £200 toward the building of Queens' College, Cambridge; and supplied the library with many books.

[A.D. 1452—1271.] JOHN CHEDWORTH, Canon of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Wilts, and second Provost of Queens' College, Cambridge, was elected after the see had been vacant for more than twelve months. In 1554 Bishop Chedworth, and Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, were appointed by Henry VI. to revise the statutes of his two royal colleges at Eton and Cambridge.

[A.D. 1472—1480.] THOMAS SCOTT, or ROTHERHAM, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of that University, translated to Lincoln from Rochester, was elevated to the see of York in 1840. He died in 1500, having for some time been Chancellor of England. Lincoln College, Oxford, was completed by him. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1480—1494.] JOHN RUSSELL, translated to Lincoln from Rochester. He was the first Chancellor of the University of Oxford who retained the office for life, his predecessors having been elected by year. He was educated at Winchester and New College, became Prebendary of St. Paul's 1474, and Archdeacon of Berks 1468. He was much employed in diplomatic service at the Court of Burgundy. He became Keeper of the Privy Seal 1474, and Chancellor 1483. He was consecrated Bishop of Rochester 1476, and was appointed by Edward IV. tutor to the infant Prince of Wales, and one of the executors of his will. "There is a mystery about Bishop Russell's conduct in the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. There can be but little doubt that he was in correspondence with the Earl of Richmond, although he continued in office under Richard III.; and it is certain that Richmond, who had trusted him at first, required him in 1485 to deliver up the Great Seal. During the remainder of his life, after the accession of Henry VII., he remained in retirement*; his piety, learning, and general knowledge of affairs being greatly prized by Sir Thomas More. Buckden Palace was almost rebuilt by him, as well as the Chancery at Lincoln. He died at Nettleham. He was buried in the chapel which he had built during his life, on the south side of the retro-choir at Lincoln. (Pt. I. § XXII.)

[A.D. 1496—1514.] WILLIAM SMITH. Margaret Countess of Richmond was his patroness, and he was probably educated in the household of Thomas Earl of Derby. He graduated in law at Oxford, though his college is uncertain, but removed to Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Pembroke. In 1485 he became Clerk of the Hanaper, and soon after a Privy Councillor and Archdeacon of Surrey. He was consecrated to the see of Lichfield

* Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. v. p. 421.

February 3, 1493, and was translated to Lincoln 1495. "A good name," observes Fuller, "is an ointment poured out," saith Solomon; and this man, wheresoever he went, may be followed by the perfumes of charity he left behind him." At Lichfield he founded a hospital and a school; and at Oxford he commenced the rebuilding of Brasenose College on the site of the ancient hall of that name. That college accordingly retains his arms (Argent, a chevron sable between three roses gules), and he is regarded as its founder. Bishop Smith was Chancellor of Oxford; and was appointed the first President of Wales by Henry VII.; "that politick Prince," says Fuller, "having, to ease and honour his native country of Wales, erected a court of Presidency, conformable to the Parliaments of France, in the Marches thereof." The Bishop was buried in his own cathedral at Lincoln.

[A.D. 1514.] THOMAS WOLSEY was Bishop of Lincoln for nearly twelve months, before his elevation to York.

[A.D. 1514—20.] WILLIAM ATWATER, Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, Prebendary of Lincoln, St. David's, Wells, and Windsor, Fellow of Eton, Dean of Salisbury, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and of Lewes, Dean of the Chapel Royal. He died at Wooburn Palace, Bucks.

[A.D. 1521—1547.] JOHN LONGLAND, Dean of Salisbury, Prebendary of Lincoln, Canon of Windsor, and Confessor of Henry VIII. For the greater part of his episcopate—during which the bishoprics of Oxford and Peterborough were erected out of portions of his vast diocese—he was Chancellor of Oxford. His chantry has been noticed, Pt. I. § XXII. He died at Wooburn Palace, and his body was buried at Eton, his heart alone being interred in the chantry he had erected at Lincoln.

[A.D. 1547—1551.] HENRY HOLBEACH, alias RANDES; had been consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Bristol in 1538; in 1544 he was appointed Bishop of Rochester; and was thence translated to Lincoln. The temporalities were

restored to Bishop Holbeach in 1547; and in the following September he resigned to the Crown (Edw. VI.) a large proportion of the manors belonging to the see; and "in short," Browne Willis says, "gave up whatever was asked of him, leaving his successors not so much as one palace except that of Lincoln." In 1551 Buckden was restored to the see.

[A.D. 1552—1554.] JOHN TAYLOR, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Dean of Lincoln 1548. On the accession of Mary, Bishop Taylor refused to be present at the celebration of Mass, and was accordingly deprived; escaping further penalties by his death, which occurred at Ankerwyke, in Buckinghamshire.

[A.D. 1554; translated to Winchester 1556.] JOHN WHITE.

[A.D. 1557—1559.] THOMAS WATSON, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Dean of Durham, a decided opponent of the Reformation, was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth. He was consigned to the care of the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, successively, and was finally imprisoned in Wisbech Castle, where he died in 1584, and was buried in the parish church of Wisbech.

[A.D. 1560; translated to Worcester 1570.] NICHOLAS BULLINGHAM, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Lincoln (see WORCESTER).

[A.D. 1571; translated to Winchester 1584.] THOMAS COOPER, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (see WINCHESTER).

[A.D. 1584; translated to Winchester 1594.] WILLIAM WICKHAM, Dean and Prebendary of Lincoln, Westminster, and Windsor, and Fellow of Eton (see WINCHESTER).

[A.D. 1595—1608.] WILLIAM CHADERTON, President of Queens' College, Cambridge, Warden of Manchester, was consecrated Bishop of Chester in 1579; and in 1594 was translated to Lincoln.

[A.D. 1608—1613.] WILLIAM BARLOW, Dean of Chester, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Westminster, and Canterbury;

translated to Lincoln from Rochester. Bishop Barlow was a great benefactor to St. John's College, Cambridge, and was "esteemed by all a very learned and pious person."

[A.D. 1614; translated to Durham 1617.] RICHARD NEILE, passed successively through the sees of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester, to the archiepiscopal see of York (see that Cathedral), where he died in 1640 (see YORK).

[A.D. 1617; translated to London 1621.] GEORGE MONTEIGNE. He passed from London to Durham, and thence to York (see YORK).

[A.D. 1621; translated to York 1641.] JOHN WILLIAMS, the well-known opponent of Laud, was a native of Carnarvonshire, and educated at Cambridge. On the removal of Lord Chancellor Bacon in 1621, Williams was made Keeper of the Great Seal; and, in the same month, Bishop of Lincoln: with which see he held the deanery of Westminster and the rectory of Waldgrave *in commendam*. A full notice of Archbishop Williams, whose life belongs to the history of his time, will be found in the Handbook to YORK CATHEDRAL, Pt. II.

[A.D. 1642, died 1654.] THOMAS WINNIFFE, born at Sherborne in Dorset, Dean successively of Gloucester and London, was expelled from his see during the Civil War, and retired to Lamborne in Essex; of which place, says Fuller, he had been for some time the "painful minister." He died there in 1654, and was buried in the parish church.

[A.D. 1660—1663.] ROBERT SANDERSON, the most eminent casuist of the English Church, who descended from an ancient family, and born at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, in 1587. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, and became rector successively of Wybberton and of Boothby Pagnel, both in Lincolnshire; and in 1629 Prebendary of Lincoln. He was recommended by Laud as one of the

King's chaplains; and Charles I. used to say that "he carried his ears to hear other preachers, but his conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson." In 1642 Sanderson was by the King appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford; and he was concerned in many of the discussions during the Civil War, before, in 1647 and 1648, he obtained leave to attend Charles I. during his retention at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight. In the latter year he was deprived of his Professorship by the Parliamentary Visitors, and retired to Boothby Pagnel, where he was permitted to remain, not altogether undisturbed, until the Restoration. During his retirement he wrote, at the request of Robert Boyle, his book *De Conscientiâ*.

On the Restoration, Sanderson was elevated to the see of Lincoln. He nearly rebuilt the palace at Buckden, which had been ruined by the Puritans, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church there, after having held the bishopric for not quite two years. The reputation of Bishop Sanderson was great during his lifetime. "That staid and well weighed man, Dr. Sanderson," says Hammond, "conceives all things deliberately, dwells upon them discreetly, discerns things that differ exactly, passeth his judgment rationally, and expresses it aptly, clearly, and honestly." His life is one of those written by Izaak Walton. His works have been frequently reprinted; the most important being "Sermons," "Cases of Conscience," "*De Juramenti Obligatione*," "*De Obligatione Conscientiæ*."

[A.D. 1663; translated to Ely 1667.] BENJAMIN LANEY, Master of Pembroke, Cambridge, Prebendary of Westminster and Winchester, and Dean of Rochester, translated to Lincoln from Peterborough (see ELY.)

[A.D. 1667—1675.] WILLIAM FULLER, Dean of St. Patrick's; translated from Limerick. Bishop Fuller bestowed much cost and labour, but little correct taste, in adorning his cathedral. The memorial on the site of the shrine of St.

Hugh and the misplaced epitaph to Remigius were set by him.

[A.D. 1675—1691.] THOMAS BARLOW, Archdeacon of Eborac. Browne Willis calls him "A thorney and pale Calvinist," and Godwin asserts that he never held visitation within his diocese, and, what is more incredible, that he never saw his cathedral at Lincoln. He defended the strongest measures of James II., but was equally ready to do homage to William III. Bishop Barlow's learning was considerable, and he has been especially praised by Clarendon, who applied to him the words of Cicero, "*Non unum in multis, sed unum in omnibus prope singularem.*"

[A.D. 1692; translated to Canterbury 1694.] THOMAS TENISON. (See CANTERBURY, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1695—1704.] JAMES GARDINER. Bishop Gardiner was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He came Chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth, Sub-dean and Prebendary of Lincoln, and Prebendary of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1705; translated to Canterbury 1715.] WILLIAM WAKE. (See CANTERBURY, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1716; translated to London 1723.] EDMUND GIBBS.

[A.D. 1723—1744.] RICHARD REYNOLDS; translated from Bangor. Bishop Reynolds was Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough, and Prebendary and Dean of the cathedral; consecrated Bishop of Bangor 1721.

[A.D. 1744; translated to Salisbury 1761.] JOHN THOMAS.

[A.D. 1761—1779.] JOHN GREEN.

[A.D. 1779; translated to Durham 1787.] THOMAS THOMAS.

[A.D. 1787; translated to Winchester 1820.] GEORGE PRETYMAN TOMLINE.

[A.D. 1820—1827.] GEORGE PELHAM; translated from Exeter.

[A.D. 1827—1853.] JOHN KAYE; translated from Bristol.

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Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1814, Bishop of Bristol 1820.

[A.D. 1853—1869.] JOHN JACKSON, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, 1846, Canon of Bristol 1852; translated to London.

[A.D. 1869.] CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, Head Master of Harrow School 1836, Canon (1844) and Archdeacon of Westminster 1865.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

PART III.

NOTE I. (PART I., SECT. I.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL BY ST
HUGH : FROM THE METRICAL LIFE ; VERSES 833—965.

[*Quomodo ædificavit ecclesiam Lincolniensem.*]

PONTIFICIS vero pontem facit ad Paradisum
Provida religio, provisio religiosa ;
Ædificare Sion in simplicitate laborans,
Non in sanguinibus. Et mirâ construit arte
Ecclesiæ cat' edralis opus : quod in ædificando
Non solum concedit opes, operamque suorum,
Sed proprii sudoris opem ; lapidesque frequenter
Excisos fert in calatho, calcemque tenacem.
Debilitas claudi, baculis suffulta duobus,
Illius officium calathi sortitur, inesse
Omen ei credens ; successiveque duorum
Indignatur opem baculorum. Rectificatque
Curvum, quæ rectos solet incurvare diæta.

O gregis egregius, non mercenarius immo
Pastor ! Ut ecclesiæ perhibet structura novella.
Mater namque Sion dejecta jacebat et arcta,
Errans, ignara, languens, anus, acris, egena,
Vilis, turpis : Hugo dejectam sublevat, arctam
Ampliat, errantem regit, ignaram docet, ægram
Sanat, anum renovat, acrem dulcorat, egenam
Fecundat, vilem decorat, turpemque decorat.

Funditus obruitur moles vetus, et nova surgit;
 Surgentisque status formam crucis exprimit aptam.
 Tres integrales partes labor arduus unit:
 Nam fundamenti moles solidissima surgit
 A centro, paries supportat in aera tectum:
 Sic fundamentum terræ sepelitur in alvo
 Sed paries tectumque patent, ausuque superbo
 Evolat ad nubes paries, ad sidera tectum.
 Materię pretio studium bene competit artis.
 Nam quasi pennatis avibus testudo locuta,
 Latas expandens alas, similisque volanti,
 Nubes offendit, solidis innisa columnis.
 Viscosusque liquor lapides conglutinat albos,
 Quos manus artificis omnes excidit ad unguem
 Et paries ex congerie constructus eorum,
 Hoc quasi dedignans, mentitur continuare
 Contiguas partes; non esse videtur ab arte
 Quin a naturâ; non res unita, sed una.
 Altera fulcit opus lapidum pretiosa nigrorum
 Materies, non sic uno contenta colore,
 Non tot laxa poris, sed crebro sidere fulgens,
 Et rigido compacta sinu: nulloque domari
 Dignatur ferro, nisi quando domatur ab arte;
 Quando superficies nimis laxatur arenæ
 Pulsibus, et solidum forti penetratur aceto.
 Inspectus lapis iste potest suspendere mentes,
 Ambiguas utrum jaspis marmorve sit; at si
 Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si marmor, nobile marmor.
 Inde columnellæ, quæ sic cinxere columnas,
 Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream.
 Exterior facies, nascente politior ungue,
 Clara percussis opponit visibus astra:
 Nam tot ibi pinxit varias fortuna figuras,
 Ut si picturam similem simulare laboret
 Ars conata diu, naturam vix imitetur.
 Sic junctura decens serie disponit honestâ
 Mille columnellas ibi: quæ rigidæ, pretiosæ,

Fulgentes, opus ecclesiæ totale rigore
 Perpetuant, pretio ditant, fulgore serenant.
 Ipsarum siquidem status est procerus et altus,
 Cultus sincerus et splendidus, ordo venustus
 Et geometricus, decor aptus et utilis, usus
 Gratus et eximius, rigor inconsumptus et acer.

[*De fenestris vitreis.*]

Splendida prætendit oculis ænigmata duplex
 Pompa fenestrarum; cives inscripta supernæ
 Urbis, et arma quibus Stygium domuere tyrannum.
 Majoresque duæ, tamquam duo lumina; quorum
 Orbiculare jubar, fines aquilonis et austri
 Respiciens, geminâ premit omnes luce fenestras.
 Illæ conferri possunt vulgaribus astris;
 Hæc duo sunt, unum quasi sol, aliud quasi luna.
 Sic caput ecclesiæ duo candelabra serenant,
 Vivis et variis imitata coloribus irim;
 Non imitata quidem, sed præcellentia; nam sol,
 Quando repercutitur in nubibus, efficit irim;
 Illa duo sine sole micant, sine nube coruscant.

[*De allegoria singulorum.*]

Hæc, descripta quasi pueriliter, allegoriæ
 Pondus habent. Foris apparet quasi testa, sed intus
 Consistit nucleus; foris est quasi cera, sed intus
 Est favus; et lucet jucundior ignis in umbrâ.
 Nam fundamentum, paries, tectum, lapis albus
 Excisus, marmor planum, spectabile, nigrum,
 Ordo fenestrarum duplex, geminæque fenestræ,
 Quæ quasi despiciunt fines aquilonis et austri,
 In se magna quidem sunt, sed majora figurant.

[*De partibus ecclesiæ integræ.*]

Est fundamentum corpus, paries homo, tectum
 Spiritus; ecclesiæ triplex divisio. Corpus
 Terram sortitur, homo nubes, spiritus astra.

[*De albis lapidibus.*]

Albus et excisus castos lapis et sapientes
Exprimit : albedo pudor est, excisio dogma.

[*De marmoribus.*]

Marmoris effigie, planâ, splendente, nigellâ,
Sponsa figuratur, simplex, morosa, laborans.
Rectè nimirum designat simplicitatem
Planities, splendor mores, nigredo laborem.

[*De vitreis fenestris.*]

Illustrans mundum divino lumine, cleri
Est præclara cohors, claris expressa fenestris.
Ordo subalternus utrobique potestque notari ;
Ordine canonicus exstante, vicarius imo.
Et quia, canonico tractante negotia mundi,
Jugis et assiduus divina vicarius implet,
Summa fenestrarum series nitet inclita florum
Involucro, mundi varium signante decorem ;
Inferior perhibet sanctorum nomina patrum.

[*De duabus orbicularibus fenestris.*]

Præbentes geminæ jubar orbiculare fenestræ
Ecclesiæ duo sunt oculi ; rectèque videtur
Major in his esse præsul, minor esse decanus.
Est aquilo zabulus, est Sanctus Spiritus auster ;
Quos oculi duo respiciunt. Nam respicit austrum
Præsul, ut invitet ; aquilonem vero decanus,
Ut vitet ; videt hic ut salvetur, videt ille
Ne pereat. Frons ecclesiæ candelabra coeli,
Et tenebras lethæ, oculis circumspicit istis.

[*Consummatio totius allegoriæ.*]

Sic insensibiles lapides mysteria claudunt
Vivorum lapidum, manualis spiritualem
Fabrica designat fabricam ; duplexque refulget
Ecclesiæ facies, duplici decorata paratu.

[*De crucifixo, et tabulâ aureâ in introitu chori.*]

Introitumque chori majestas aurea pingit :
 Et proprie propria crucifixus imagine Christus
 Exprimitur, vitæque suæ progressus ad unguem
 Insinuatur ibi. Nec solum crux vel imago,
 Immo columnarum sex, lignorumque duorum
 Ampla superficies, obrizo fulgurat auro.

[*De Capitulo.*]

Astant ecclesiæ capitolia, qualia nunquam
 Romanus possedit apex : spectabile quorum
 Vix opus inciperet nummosa pecunia Croesi.
 Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra
 Porticus ; interius spatium patet orbiculare,
 Materiâ tentans templum Salomonis et arte.
 Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
 Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo.
 Sic igitur tanto Lincolnia patre superbit,
 Qui tot eam titulis ex omni parte beavit.

NOTE II. (PART I., SECT. II.)

The following letter from M. Viollet-le-Duc appeared in "Gentleman's Magazine" for May, 1861 :—

"I expected from what I had heard in England to find in Lincoln the French style of architecture ; i.e. some constructions of the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth which would shew the evident influence of a French architect. But after the most careful examination, I could find in any part of the cathedral of Lincoln, neither in the general design, nor in any part of the system of architecture adopted, nor in any details of ornament, any trace of the French school of the twelfth century (the lay school from 1170 to 1200) so plainly characteristic of the cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Sens, Chartres, Sens, and even Rouen. The part of the cathedral

Lincoln in which the influence of the French school has been supposed to be found, has no resemblance to this. I mean the choir. On the exterior, the choir of the cathedral of Lincoln is thoroughly English, or Norman, if you will. One can perceive all the Norman influence: arches acutely pointed; blank windows in the clerestory, reminding one of the basilica covered with a wooden roof; a low triforium; each bay of the aisles divided into two by a small buttress; shafts banded. In the interior, vaults which have not at all the same construction as the French vaults of the end of the twelfth century; arch-mouldings slender, and deeply undercut; the abacus round; the tooth-ornament; which do not at all resemble the ornaments we find at Paris, Sens, St. Denis," &c. . . .

The rose window of the north transept, without disputing the date assigned to it, cannot be considered a French composition. "I do not know a rose window of that period in France which is divided into four compartments; the centre of this window does not resemble the arrangement adopted in France; and as to the decoration with small roses which cover the mouldings, they are a very characteristic English ornament."

"Nowhere in France do we find, between 1190 and 1200, pillars similar to those at Lincoln, with the crockets placed between the shafts; nowhere in France do we find crockets carved like these; nowhere shafts with hexagonal concave section; nowhere capitals or abacus similar to those of these pillars."

M. Le-Duc observes that he cannot readily believe the date usually assigned to the choir of Lincoln to be the true one. (Of this, however, there cannot be the slightest doubt.) The date of 1220, he thinks, or that of 1210 at earliest, agrees better with its architectural character. "We have in Normandy, especially in the cathedral at Rouen, and the church of Eu, architecture of the date of 1190. It is purely French; i.e. it corresponds exactly with the architecture of the Isle de France, except in certain details. At Eu, in the cathedral of Le Mans, at Sees, we have architecture which resembles that of the choir of Lincoln: but that architecture is from 1210 to 1220; it is the Norman school of the thirteenth century. There is indeed at Lincoln an effort at a tendency to originality; a style of ornament which

attempts to emancipate itself: nevertheless, the character is purely Anglo-Norman.

"The construction is English; the profiles of the mouldings are English; the ornaments are English, the execution of the work belongs to the English school of workmen of the beginning of the thirteenth century."



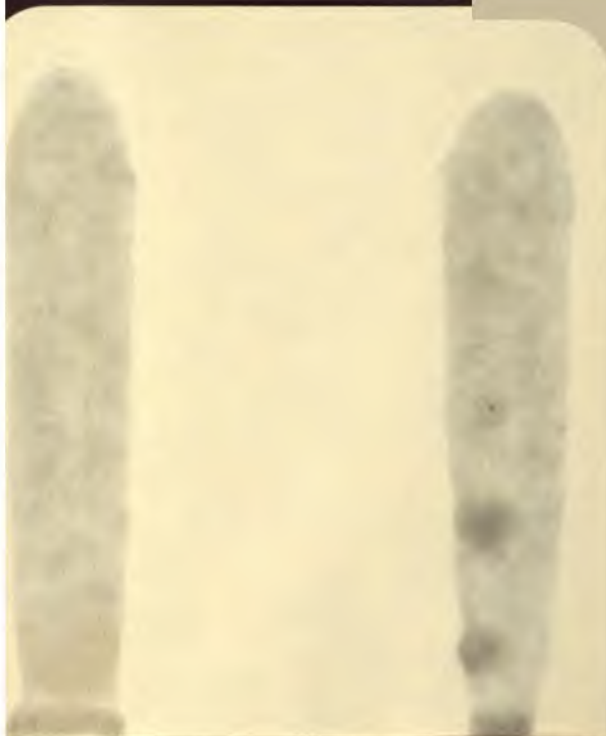
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